THE CATHOLIC UNIVERSITY OF AMERICA
STUDIES IN AMERICAN CHURCH HISTORY
VOL. VII.

THE CAPUCHINS IN FRENCH LOUISIANA (1722-1766)

A Dissertation

SUBMITTED TO THE FACULTY OF PHILOSOPHY OF THE CATHOLIC UNIVERSITY OF AMERICA IN PARTIAL FULFILLMENT OF THE REQUIREMENTS FOR THE DEGREE OF DOCTOR OF PHILOSOPHY

BY

CLAUDE L. VOGEL, O.M.CAP., M.A.

THE CATHOLIC UNIVERSITY OF AMERICA
WASHINGTON, D. C.
1928

BIBLIOTHECA MISSIONVM

15e

SOCIETATIS
VERBI DIVINI

TECHNY, ILL.

252

The Catholic
Theological Union
LIBRARY
Chicago, IL

THE CAPUCHINS IN FRENCH LOUISIANA (1722-1766)

THE CATHOLIC UNIVERSITY OF AMERICA
STUDIES IN AMERICAN CHURCH HISTORY
VOL. VII.

THE CAPUCHINS IN FRENCH LOUISIANA (1722-1766)

A Dissertation

SUBMITTED TO THE FACULTY OF PHILOSOPHY OF THE CATHOLIC UNIVERSITY OF AMERICA IN PARTIAL FULFILLMENT OF THE REQUIREMENTS FOR THE DEGREE OF DOCTOR OF PHILOSOPHY

BY

CLAUDE L. VOGEL, O.M.Cap., M.A.

THE CATHOLIC UNIVERSITY OF AMERICA
WASHINGTON, D. C.
1928

47/2865

Nihil Obstat.

May 20, 1928.

REV. JOHN M. LENHART, O.M.Cap.,
Censor deputatus.

Imprimi Permittitur.

May 23, 1928.

VERY REV. THOMAS PETRIE, O.M.Cap.,
Minister Provincial.

Nihil Obstat.

May 25, 1928.

✠ RT. REV. THOMAS J. SHAHAN, D. D.,
Censor Librorum.

Imprimatur.

May 25, 1928.

✠ MOST REV. MICHAEL J. CURLEY, D.D.,
Archbishop of Baltimore.

COPYRIGHT, 1928, BY REV. CLAUDE L. VOGEL, O.M.CAP.

CONTENTS

		PAGE
FOREWORD		vii
BIBLIOGRAPHY		xiii
CHAPTER I.	Discovery and Settlement of Louisiana, 1539–1722	1
CHAPTER II.	Coming of the Capuchin Missionaries, 1722	22
CHAPTER III.	Spread of Capuchin Missions, 1722–1766	40
CHAPTER IV.	Educational and Social Work	69
CHAPTER V.	Coming of the Jesuits to New Orleans, 1726	84
CHAPTER VI.	Religious Conditions in the Colony	102
CHAPTER VII.	Controversy over Ecclesiastical Jurisdiction, 1727	119
CHAPTER VIII.	The Controversy Continued, 1735	150
CHAPTER IX.	Solution of the Controversy, 1764	171
CONCLUSION		193
INDEX		197

Digitized by the Internet Archive
in 2016

https://archive.org/details/capuchinsinfrenc00voge

FOREWORD

The subject of this monograph, *The Capuchins in French Louisiana,* was prompted by an earnest desire to shed light on a period in American Church History hitherto shrouded in darkness. It is no exaggeration to observe that the part played by the Capuchin Sons of St. Francis in the pioneer days of America is little known to the average reader of history.

The Capuchin Order is an autonomous branch of the Order of Friars Minor founded by St. Francis in 1209. In the course of time the Order divided into two distinct families; the first, aspiring to primitive observance of the Rule, was called Friars Minor of the Observance; the second, accepting certain papal dispensations deemed necessary by the change of times, was styled Friars Minor Conventual. This separation of the two branches was sanctioned by Pope Leo X, who issued the Bull, *Ite et vos in vineam,* on May 28, 1517.

This separation was not to end the historic development of the Order. On account of its great progress both in numbers and in variety of activities, a certain amount of relaxation from the original Rule was always visible in its ranks, but this relaxation was constantly counteracted by reform movements that aimed at a more perfect return to the primitive Franciscan ideal. Thus, as offshoots of the Observants, we have among others the Reformati, the Recollects, the Alcantarines and the Capuchins. This latter Reform, the only one to be declared autonomous by papal approval, was sponsored chiefly by the Observants, Matthew of Bascio and Louis of Fossombrone.

Although Matthew of Bascio was the first of the Observants to obtain papal permission to don the habit with the pointed cowl, distinctive of the Capuchin habit, and to live in a hermitage, he is nevertheless, more correctly styled the forerunner of the Capuchins than the founder. With his withdrawal from the Observants and his change of habit, his work, so far as the Capuchin Reform is concerned, seems to have ended. His apostolate was preaching and in virtue of a privilege from the Holy See to preach everywhere, he

went abroad announcing the word of God. The task of organizing the little band of friars who had obtained permission to live in hermitages was reserved for Louis of Fossombrone who, with Raphael, his brother, had returned from Rome in 1526 with letters from the Sacred Penitentiary authorizing them to return to a more literal observance of the Franciscan Rule.

In 1527, Louis of Fossombrone had urged Matthew of Bascio to found a stable organization for the friars who had separated from the Observants, but the latter dismissed the idea with the remark that he had not been called to establish an order. It was then that Louis, accompanied by Catherine Cibo, niece of the Pope, went to Viterbo, where Clement VII was temporarily residing. This visit has ever been memorable in the annals of the Franciscan Order, for, moved by the holy zeal for primitive observance manifested by Louis and his followers, Pope Clement VII on July 3, 1528, issued the Bull, *Religionis Zelus,* and established the Capuchin Reform as a distinct family of the Franciscan Order with a certain dependence on the Master-General of the Conventuals. In the papal Bull the names of the two Fossombrones are mentioned but not that of Matthew of Bascio, since he had little to do with the actual organization of the Reform. In August of the same year fourteen priests and four lay brothers were invested with the habit having the long-pointed *capuche* or hood sewn thereto after the manner of the primitive habit of St. Francis.

The first Chapter of the Reform was held at Albacina and Father Matthew was elected Vicar-General. Desirous to return to his preaching, he resigned the office after a month into the hands of Louis of Fossombrone. In 1535, the second General Chapter convened at St. Euphemia's, Rome, and Bernardine of Asti was elected General. At the time of this chapter (seven years after the approval), the Capuchin Reform numbered seven hundred members. In 1619, Pope Paul V declared the Capuchins entirely independent of the Conventuals and permitted them to have their own Minister-General residing in Rome.

The spread of the Capuchins was marvelous. In little more than a century their friaries were erected in every country of Europe to the number of 1335, with 32,821 friars. Even England and Ireland, ruled as they were by the opposing forces of Protestantism,

yielded to the influence of the Capuchin friars, who had gone there to offer stout resistance to the Reformation. In 1630, by virtue of her marriage treaty, twelve Capuchin friars were permitted to serve Queen Henrietta Marie as royal chaplains. Under the court's protection these friars celebrated Mass, preached and held controversies with the Protestants, making great numbers of converts. Like their predecessors, they were imprisoned under the Commonwealth, then sent to France when Charles I was put to death in 1649. With the restoration of Charles II in 1660 they returned.

Throughout their whole history the Capuchins have distinguished themselves by their missionary labors. The Congregation of Propaganda itself is a monument to their missionary zeal, for it was instituted on the suggestion of the Capuchin, Jerome of Narni, Apostolic Preacher of the Papal Court. Both the builder of the Propaganda College, Cardinal Antony Barberini, and the first missionary and martyr, St. Fidelis of Sigmaringen, were Capuchins.

Simultaneous with their growth in Europe was the spread of their houses in foreign pagan countries. As early as 1551, Capuchin friars opened missions in Constantinople, and ever since they have directed the missions in the Turkish Dominions. In 1618, at the request of Paul V, the General Chapter sent missionaries to the Congo. In 1623, the Order founded missions in Syria, Egypt and Abyssinia, and in 1624 it entered Africa. Towards the middle of the seventeenth century the Capuchin friars established missions in India at Surat, Pegu, Golconda, Madras and Pondicherry. Today almost entire Northern India is in charge of the Capuchins.

In the early seventeenth century Capuchin friars came to the present territory of the United States. In 1630, Cardinal Richelieu, influenced by his Secretary, the Capuchin Père Joseph du Tremblay (His Gray Eminence), entrusted the Capuchins of Paris with the missions in New England and after two years also with those in Acadia or Nova Scotia. Port Royal, the present city of Annapolis in Nova Scotia, was the centre of their mission, the most southern station lying on the present site of Castine, Hancock County, Maine; the most northern was situated on Chaleur Bay, not far from the mission of St. Anne de Ristigouche, Bonaventure County, in the Province of Quebec. As such their spiritual jurisdiction extended as far south as Cape Cod in virtue of faculties from the

Propaganda. The Acadian mission of the Capuchins came to a premature close when the Massachusetts Puritans occupied Acadia. As early as 1652, some Fathers were imprisoned, others were compelled to return to France. In 1656, the last remaining missionary, Father Leonard of Chartres, was murdered by the Puritans.

We see, then, that missionary activity has always been identified with the Capuchin Sons of St. Francis. If today the Order has a missionary personnel of twelve hundred priests and lay brothers laboring in the missions of the Balkans, Asia Minor, Africa, Arabia, India, China, North and South America, it is but the natural development of an apostolic zeal enkindled with the birth of the Order and sustained throughout its history.

Hence it is not surprising that King Louis XIV, intent on sending missionaries to the newly discovered territory of Louisiana, turned to the Capuchin Sons of St. Francis, so highly recommended by their glorious missionary traditions. But which of the fourteen French Provinces of Capuchins would be available for this new mission? Scanning the status of the French Provinces in the eighteenth century, we find that all but one were burdened with extraordinary missionary activities, either in pagan lands or with the Huguenots at home. The single exception was the Province of Champagne, and it gave no ready response to the king's offer because, being a young Province of scarcely forty years standing, it was heavily laden with work at home. But true to the traditions of their Order, the friars finally consented to sacrifice themselves and assume the responsilbility of this new American Mission.

In the present monograph the author has attempted to save from oblivion the missionary achievements of these friars of Champagne. Hitherto, their story has been inadequately told.

The account written by John Gilmary Shea is meagre and fragmentary and affords little satisfaction to the student of Church history. On January 26, 1886, Shea wrote to His Grace the Most Reverend F. X. Leray, D. D., Archbishop of New Orleans, anent the Capuchin Missions of Louisiana: "It is a painful subject to treat and difficult in the utter absence of documents." Hence, we are not surprised that his treatment of the subject resulted in a few pages of facts strung loosely together, inaccurate and lacking the most essential documentary evidence. Nor does the article of Otto

Jeron, O. M. Cap., in the Historical Records and Studies, add any substantial data, while Charlevoix, Gayarre, Martin, Fortier and other historians of political Louisiana, dismiss the topic of Church history with a few lines, or at most with a few pages that serve to arouse but not to satisfy the curiosity of the reader. A substantial account in French is given in two chapters of *Les Jesuites et la Nouvelle-France au XVIIIe Siècle,* by the Jesuit P. Camille de Rochemonteix, unfortunately the documents at his disposal are not always used to the best advantage.

There is, then, no satisfactory account of the Louisiana Mission in English. Although well-nigh a century has passed since the last Capuchin friar of the South died in the Cathedral rectory of New Orleans, the lives and labors, successes and failures of the friars in that arduous Mission are buried in the archival dust of more than two centuries. This study is the fruit of extensive correspondence and travel. The Vatican, the Propaganda and the Paris Archives, the Library of Congress, the Cathedral Archives of New Orleans, of Mobile and the Archives of the Louisiana Historical Society in New Orleans have contributed the chief sources for its pages. Visits were also made to the principal parishes in charge of the French Capuchins, and to the oldest cemeteries in New Orleans, Natchez and Les Allemands in search of data respecting the brown-robed friars who sacrificed the comforts of France for the hardships of Louisiana.

The story, as told here, lays no claim to finality. Confident only that a beginning has been made and that many original documents hastening fast to ruin have been saved for posterity, the writer feels that further research will yield additional documents bearing on Capuchin history in French Louisiana.

In preparing this work we have naturally placed ourselves under many obligations. To the Rev. Dr. Peter Guilday credit is due for suggesting the subject and for assisting the writer by advice and direction throughout a period of three years. Then the author owes an immense debt to the Most Rev. John W. Shaw, D. D., Archbishop of New Orleans; to the Right Rev. Thomas J. Toolen, D. D., Bishop of Mobile, and to the Right Rev. Richard Oliver Gerow, D. D., Bishop of Natchez, who opened their archives for his unrestricted use. Very special gratitude is due the Rev. John Lenhart, O. M.

Cap., who by pointing out sources, by deciphering and translating old MSS., has rendered an invaluable service. For similar favors and for obtaining photostats of precious documents, Mrs. Heloise H. Cruzat, Miss Carrie S. Freret and other officers of the Louisiana Historical Society deserve grateful acknowledgment. The writer is also beholden to the Very Rev. Fredegand Callaey, O. M. Cap., and to the Very Rev. Antonine Wilmer, O. M. Cap., Rome, Italy, for obtaining documents from the Vatican and Propaganda Archives; to the Rev. Fathers John F. Basty and Matthew Pecari, O. M. Cap., for the loan of necessary books; to the Rev. Felix M. Kirsch, O. M. Cap., Litt. D., the Rev. Anscar Zawart, O. M. Cap., and the Rev. Mathias Gallenz, O. M. Cap., for proof reading and helpful suggestions. To all others, including especially the Very Rev. F. X. Lefebve, O. M. I., and the Oblates of Mary Immaculate at St. Louis Cathedral, New Orleans; the Very Rev. Leander Roth, pastor of St. Theresa's, and the Rev. Hubert Lorenz, O. F. M., of St. Mary of the Angels, New Orleans, who welcomed the writer with true Southern hospitality during his visit to New Orleans, sincere appreciation and thanks are extended.

CLAUDE L. VOGEL, O. M. CAP., M. A.

Feast of the Annunciation,
Capuchin College,
Washington, D. C.

BIBLIOGRAPHY

A. ARCHIVAL MATERIAL

I. Vatican MSS.

1) 1759. *Ristretto* on letter of Abbé de l'Isle-Dieu, Vicar-General of the Bishop of Quebec, concerning the differences between the Jesuits and the Capuchins. 8064, ff. 220-227.

2) July 9, 1759. Notes on same. A consultor of Propaganda gives his opinion on the defense of the Capuchins against the accusation of Abbé de l'Isle-Dieu. 8064, ff. 228-229.

II. Propaganda MSS.

1) *Atti.*

a) January 8, 1685. On the discovery of an island to which has been given the name of Louisiana, and the sending thither of Recollect missionaries, at first placed under the direction of the Bishop of Quebec, but now by reason of the distance of that see, placed under the Prefect of the Recollects of French San Domingo. f. 20-21.

b) 1699. The Commissary General of the Recollects petitions that Father Atanasio (Anastase) Douay be made Prefect of the mission of Florida, "a Gallis autem Louisiana."

c) March 20, 1714. *Facoltà* to Mgr. Francesco, Capuchin, Coadjutor of the Bishop of Quebec. f. 182, No. 33. Bishop de Mornay is meant.

d) 1719. Father Massimiliano, Carmelite, Provincial-Vicar of the French Islands of America, is given the prefecture of those islands. f. 321.

e) June 3, 1720. Father Giacomo di S. Martino, Discalced Carmelite, is deputed Prefect with *facoltà* without prejudice to the Sacred Congregation and in dependence on it, in the new mission of Louisiana, called "Misissipi." f. 308-309.

f) March 17, 1721. Father Matteo, Discalced Carmelite, is deputed Prefect of the friars of his Order in the island of Louisiana, called "Misissipi." f. 186, no. 6.

g) April 13, 1722. The Procurator General of the Capuchins requests that the Provincial of Champagne in France be declared Prefect of the missions of the Island Louisiana. Ordered that the Nuncio at Paris be consulted. f. 138, no. 25.

h) August 3, 1722. The Nuncio at Paris disapproves the request of the Capuchins referred to him on April 13, on the ground that there are enough missionaries on the spot. ff. 410-411.

2) *Scritture riferite nei Congressi, America Centrale.*

a) 1765. *Facoltà* for the French Capuchins in Louisiana. This document also gives a brief account of the establishment of both Capuchins and Jesuits in Louisiana. f. 431.

b) 1765? Memoire abrege sur les Missions de la Colonie nominée Louisiane, compose par le P. Philibert François Watrin, Jesuite, cy devant Missionaire à Louisiane. ff. 424-429.

III. Diocesan Archives.

1) *Mobile.*

Baptisma. This is the oldest Church record of the first permanent settlement on the Gulf Coast. It is made up of a number of thin volumes bound together and bears the dates 1704-1778, thus covering the baptisms of the French Period. Though the pages are much worm-eaten and the ink faded, most of the entries are still legible. From this volume were gleaned the names of the French Capuchins who labored in the Mobile district.

2) *Red Church.* (*Les Allemands*).

This district was formerly called *Les Allemands.* In the rectory of St. Charles Borromeo's Church is preserved the Record of the Baptisms, Marriages and Funerals. The oldest volume which escaped the fire of 1876 is marked 1739-1755, and shows the names of the Capuchins who attended the Germans between those dates.

3) *New Orleans.*

Registre des Marriages de la Paroisse St. Louis de la N. Orleans, contenant 376 Actes des Marriages des Blancs plus 11 des Marriages des Negres et trois Actes d'Abjuration d'heresie. Le dit Registre commence le primier jour du mois de Julliet de l'an 1720, et finit le quatrieme jour du mois de Decembre de l'an 1730.

This volume is the oldest record in the Cathedral Archives. It is not the original, but a copy thereof made by Father Antonio de Sedella, who attests that the original record was "in a very bad condition." The latter was rector of the St. Louis Cathedral, New Orleans, from about 1785 to 1829. There are five similar volumes of Registers of Baptisms, Marriages and Funerals of the French period. There are no other documents of this period in the Cathedral Archives.

IV. Archives of the Louisiana Historical Society, Cabilda.

1) April 4, 1731. Petition and defense of Father Raphael, Capuchin Vicar-General, concerning payment of a house used for school. 31/58.

2) July 25, 1731. Petition of Father Raphael to Councillors Brusle and Bru concerning the house used for school. 31/91.

3) November 2, 1738. Deliberation between the Rev. Capuchin Fathers and the inhabitants of New Orleans for the building of a parochial church and rectory. 10597.
4) September 24, 25, 1740. Full explanations and details of the plan for the school for the poor of New Orleans. 23672.
5) April 1, 1743. Note to Superior Council of Father Charles, Capuchin, acknowledging Marsilly's deposit and saying that it will be paid on presentation of his note. D 43/81.
6) October 7, 1764. Induction of Rev. Father Dagobert, Capuchin, as rector of St. Louis Parish Church. 75037.
7) July 7, 1766. Declaration of the Abbé Baudoin, Jesuit. 80869.

All these documents are badly stained and ragged. They are in French and without special titles.

V. Paris Archives Nationales (*Colonies*).

1) Novembre 20, 1718. Brevet d'aumonier et missionaire pour le Père Bonaventur O'Donoghue. B42bis, ff. 265-266.
2) Novembre 21, 1718. Brevet de la Compagnie d'Occident fixant les appointments du Pére Bonaventur O'Donoghue, missionaire. B42bis, f. 299.
3) Juin 20, 1719. Brevet d'aumonier et missionaire de la Louisiane pour le Rene François Guerin. B42bis, f. 315.
4) Mars 1, 1720. Brevets de Carmes Dechausses. B42bis, f. 315.
5) Mai 16, 1722. Ordonnance servant de Reglement pour l'Establissement des Capucins a la Louisiane B42, ff. 108-111.
6) Decembre 19, 1722. Ordonnance concernant l'Establissement des Capucins a la Louisiane. F5A3, f. 169.
7) Mai 16, 1724. Lettre du P. Raphael a la Compagnie des Indes. C13A8, ff. 416-420.
8) Mai 29, 1724. Etats des bois fournis pour la construction de l'eglise paroissiale de la Nouvelle Orleans. C13A8, ff. 92-95.
9) Decembre 20, 1724. Etats des missionaires des differents postes et de leurs appointements. D2D10, no. 2.
10) Etat de l'Eglise de la Louisiane avant l'introduction des Jesuites dans le bas de la Colonie. C13A11, ff. 217-219.

This document bears no date, but intrinsic reasons suggest the year 1724 as the date of its publication. It gives a brief history of the foundation of the Capuchin Missions in 1722, mentions the changes in jurisdiction both for Capuchins and Jesuits in 1723 and names the posts held by both.

11) Mai 15, 1725. Le Père Raphael, Superieur des Capucins a la Louisiane a l'Abbé Raguet, Directeur de la Compagnie des Indes. C13A8, I, 399-406; II, 399-406.
12) Mai 26, 1725. Père Raphael a Raguet. C13A8, ff. 407-408.
13) Juin 27, 1725. Ordonnance de la Compagnie des Indes concernant l'Establissement des Capucins a la Louisiane. A23, f. 60. This

decree of the Company concedes the Louisiana Mission to the Capuchins in perpetuity.

14) Juillet 7, 1725. L'Eveque de Quebec au Père Raphael, Superieur des Capucins a la Louisiane. C13A8, f. 421.

15) Juillet 15, 1725. Brevet qui autorise l'Establissement des Capucins dans la Province de la Louisiane. A23, f. 63. Brief of King Louis XV confirming the Decrees of the Company relative to the establishment of the Capuchins in Louisiana.

16) Septembre 15, 1725. Père Raphael a Raguet. C13A8, ff. 409-413.

17) Octobre 12, 1725. Père Raphael a Raguet. C13A8, ff. 414-415.

18) Octobre 15, 1725. Etat des Jesuites en Mission a la Louisiane de 1718 a 1725. D2D10, no. 3.

19) Octobre 15, 1725. L'Eveque de Quebec aux Commissaires de la Compagnie des Indes. C13A8, ff. 422-423. In this letter Bishop Saint Vallier of Quebec appeals to the Company of the Indies to obtain Royal Letters Patent for the Capuchins.

20) Novembre 7, 1725. Arret du Conseil Superieur de la Louisiane. A23, f. 65.

21) Decembre 14, 1725. L'Abbé Raguet, Directeur de la Compagnie des Indes au Père Raphael. C13A8, f. 426.

22) 1725. Etat des Mission. C13A10, ff. 72-74.

23) Janvier 27, 1726. L'Abbé Raguet, Directeur de la Compagnie des Indes au Comte de Maurepas, Ministre de la Marine. F5A3, ff. 171-173.

24) Mars 12, 1726. Lettre du P. Raphael a l'Abbé Raguet. C13A10, ff. 38-42.

25) Avril 3, 1726. Copie de la lettre ecritte par Père de Beaubois, Jesuite, de Paris, au Père Raphael, Superieur des Capucins de la Louisiane a la Nouvelle Orleans. C13A10, ff. 60-61.

26) Mai 18, 1726. Lettre du R. P. Raphael, Capucin Vicaire General de la Louisiane a l'Abbé Raguet. C13A10, ff. 43-46. This document has probably never been published.

27) Aout 16, 1726. Demande des Directeurs de la Compagnie des Indes au Roi d'approuver par un Brevet leur Traite avec les Jesuites. F5A3, ff. 174-175.

28) Aout 17, 1726. Brevet en faveur des Jesuites missionaires a la Louisiane. B43, f. 616.

29) Septembre 13, 1726. Traite fait avec les Religieuses par la Compagnie des Indes. A23, ff. 76-79.

30) Septembre 18, 1726. Brevet en faveur des Religieuses Ursulines qui autorise leur Etablissement a la Louisiane. A23, f. 75.

31) Decembre 8, 1726. Lettre de Mgr. le Coadjutor de Quebec a l'Abbé Raguet. C13A10, ff. 35-36.

32) Decembre 28, 1726. Le Père Raphael, Superieur des Capucins a la Louisiane, a l'Abbé Raguet, Directeur de la Compagnie des Indes. C13A10, ff. 47-52. This document has never been published.

33) L'Abbé Raguet, Directeur ecclesiastique de la Compagnie des Indes, a l'Eveque de Quebec. C13A10, ff. 56-58. This document bears no date, but judging from contents must have been written between 1726 and 1728. This document has never been published.
34) Avril 18, 1727. Le Père Raphael a l'Abbé Raguet. C13A10, ff. 321-326.
35) Avril 24, 1727. Etat des missions deservies et a deservir par les Pères Capucins dans la Louisiane. C13A10, ff. 178-181. This most interesting and important document has never been published. The text written in the right column is the petition of Father Raphael for the Capuchin Missions. In the left column are the annotations made by Governor Perier and the Commissary de la Chaise, who sometimes oppose the petition or add new facts.
36) Mai 4, 1727. Lettre du R. P. de Beaubois, Superieur de la mission de la Compagnie de Jesus a la Louisiane. C13A10, ff. 311-313.
37) Juin 12, 1727. Le Comte de Maurepas, Ministre de la Marine, au Père Cyrille, Capucin. F5A3, f. 184.
38) Aout 4, 1727. Lettre du R. P. de Beaubois du Aout 4, 1727, et replique du Père Raphael. C13A10, ff. 61-63. This document has two columns, the one is Father de Beaubois' interpretation of Bishop Saint Vallier's letter, the other is the interpretation of Father Raphael.
39) Octobre 25, 1727. Reponse de M. l'Abbé Raguet du 25 Octobre, 1727, a la Lettre du R. P. Raphael du 18 Avril, 1727. C13A10, ff. 337-339.
40) Novembre 24, 1727. Lettre du P. Raphael, Superieur des Capucins a la Louisiane. C13A10, ff. 327-335.
41) 1727. Eglise de Louisiane. C13A10, ff. 296-300.
42) Mars 24, 1728. La Compagnie des Indes au Père Provincial des Jesuites. F5A3, f. 181.
43) Avril 3, 1728. L'Abbé Raguet, Directeur de la Compagnie des Indes, au Père de Beaubois, Superieur des Missions a la Louisiane. F5A3, f. 180bis.
44) Avril 3, 1728. Reponse de l'Abbé Raguet au Père Raphael. C13A11, 234-235.
45) Avril 3, 1728. Reponse de l'Abbé Raguet a M. de la Chaise. C13A11, ff. 230-231.
46) Avril 25, 1728. L'Abbé Raguet, Directeur de la Compagnie des Indes a l'Eveque de Quebec. C13A8, ff. 424-425. This document has never been published. Rochemonteix quotes just one sentence from it.
47) Mai 6, 1728. Le Père de Beaubois a l'Abbé Raguet. C13A11, ff. 256-257.
48) Mai 18, 1728. Le Père Raphael a l'Abbé Raguet. C13A11, II, ff. 264-269.
49) Mai 24, 1728. Etat general des Depenses pendant l'année 1728. B43, ff. 770-782.

50) Mai 25, 1728. L'Abbé Raguet au Père d'Avaugour. F5A3, ff. 179-180.
51) Aout 10, 1728. Le Père Raphael a l'Abbé Raguet. C13A11, ff. 270-271.
52) Aout 12, 1728. Le Père de Beaubois a l'Abbé Raguet. C13A11, ff. 260-261.
53) Aout 18, 1728. Le Père de Beaubois a l'Abbé Raguet. C13A11, ff. 261-262.
54) Octobre 18, 1728. Etat des Missions. B43, ff. 821-836.
55) Decembre 30, 1728. Lettre de l'Abbé Raguet au Père Raphael. C13A11, ff. 248-249.
56) 1728. Memoire du Père de Beaubois pour refuter les accusations de l'Abbé Raguet. F5A3, ff. 185-186.
57) 1728. Memoire sur la situation religieuse de la Louisiane. C13A11, ff. 220-226.
58) Juin 7, 1729. Le Père Cyrille, Capucin, au Comte de Maurepas, Ministre de la Marine. F5A3, ff. 183-184.
59) Octobre, 1729. Memoire sur ce qui a donne lieu au rappel du P. de Beaubois. C13A12, ff. 224-258.
60) Octobre, 1729. Memoire du Père de Beaubois, Superieur des Missions de la Compagnie de Jesus a la Louisiane, avec reponse de la Compagnie des Indes. F5A3, ff. 187-225.
61) 1729. Memoire Justificatif du Père de Beaubois, Superieur des Jesuites. C13A12, ff. 214-223.
62) 1729. Relation du Massacre des Natchez arrive le 28 Novembre, 1729. C13A12, ff. 37-45.
63) Decembre, 1729. Extrait du Memoire donne par la Compagnie des Indes contre le P. de Beaubois et de celui du P. de Beaubois justifiant les faits qui out motive son rappel en France. F5A3, ff. 227-235.
64) Mars 20, 1730. Les Superieurs des Jesuites demandent des secours pour faire subsister leurs Missionaires de la Louisiane, vu l'agreement de Monseigneur pour leur rappel. C13A12, f. 428.
65) Decembre 1, 1744. Liste des Missionaires religieuses et employes civils de la Colonie. D2D10, no. 14.
66) 1752. Suite des Extraits des nouvelles lettres que l'Abbé de l'Isle-Dieu a recu cette année de la Nouvelle Orleans, Capitale de la Louisiane. C13A36, ff. 330-339.
67) 1753. Memoire presente a Machault Garde des Sceaux, par l'Abbé de l'Isle-Dieu, au subjet du refus des Capucins de reconnaitre le Superieur des Jesuites comme Grande Vicaire. F5A3, ff. 237-244.
68) Mars 30, 1756. Le Père Baudoin a d'Auberville. C13A39, f. 200
69) Mars 31, 1756. Le Père Baudoin refuse de communiquer aux Capucins les titres en virtudes quels il exerce les fonctions. C13A39, ff. 197-198.

70) Avril 8, 1756. Reponse des Jesuites aux plaintes des Capucins. C13A39, ff. 135-136.
71) 1756. Pour les Depenses de la Louisiane pendant l'année mil sept-cent cinquante six. C13A39, ff. 84-98.
72) Septembre 15, 1757. L'Abbé de l'Isle-Dieu, Vicaire General de l'Eveque de Quebec, au Garde des Sceaux. F5A3, ff. 245-252.
73) Novembre 5, 1757. Memoire de l'Eveque de Quebec sur les Capucins de la Louisiane. C13A39, ff. 316-317.
74) 1757. Exposè des Pretensions des Capucins de la Louisiane et reponse de l'Abbé de l'Isle-Dieu, Grand Vicaire. F5A3, ff. 246-251.
75) Memoire sur les Difficultes entre les Capucins et les Jesuites. Document bears no date, but the contents prove it to have been written between 1755 and 1759.

B. Guides.

Fish, Carl Russell, *Guide to the Materials for American History in Roman and Other Italian Archives*, Washington, D. C., 1911.

Streit, Robert, O. M. I., *Bibliotheca Missionum*, Aachen, 1927, 3 vols.

Tanguay, L'Abbé Cyprien, *Repertoire General du Clerge Canadien*, Montreal, 1893.

C. Collections of Sources.

Michael a Tugio, O. M. Cap., *Bullarium Ordinis Minorum Capuccinorum*, Rome, 1740, 9 vols.

Documents pour Servir a l'Histoire de L'Establissement des Capucins en France, 1568-1585, Paris, 1894.

French, Benjamin Franklin, *Historical Collections of Louisiana and Florida*, New York, 1846-1875, 7 vols.

Margry, Pierre, *Memoires et Documents pour servir a l'histoire des origines françaises de pays d'outremer*, Paris, 1879-1888, 6 vols.

Rapport sur les Archives Canadiennes, Ottawa, 1899.

Williams, Robert Folkestone, *The Court and Times of Charles I. Illustrated by Authentic and Confidential Letters from Various Public and Private Collections*, London, 1848.

D. General Works.

Abbeville, Claude d', *L'arrivée des Pères Capucins et la Conversion des Sauvages a notre Saincte Foy*, Lyons, 1876.

Barbezieux, Alexis de, O. M. Cap., *L'Eglise Catholique au Canada*, Quebec, 1914.

Bolton, Herbert Eugene, *Athanase de Mezières and the Louisiana-Texas Frontier 1768-1780*, Cleveland, 1914, 2 vols.

Bolton, Herbert Eugene, *The Spanish Borderlands* in *Chronicles of America*, New Haven, 1921.

Bonifacius, A. Nicea, *Ritratti degli Uomini Illustri dell' Istituto de Minori Capuccini Sublimati alle piu Cospicue Dignita Ecclesiastiche*, Rome, 1804.

Boverius, Zacharias, O. M. Cap., *Annales Ordinis Sancti Francisci Capuccinorum*, Lyons, 1632.

Burns, James A., *The Catholic School System in the United States*, New York, 1908.

Cambrilis, Ignacio de, *Cronicon de la Mission de PP. Capuchinos en Centro America*, Barcelona, 1888.

Cavazzi, Giovanni Antonio, *Istorica Descrizione de tre regni Congo, Metamba et Angola situati nell Etiopia inferiore occidentale e delle Missioni Apostoliche esercitateui da religiosi Capuccini*, Bologna, 1687.

Charlevoix, P. Fr. X. de, S. J., *History of New France*, New York, 1872, Shea transl., 6 vols.

Clemens, P. A Terzorio, O. M. Cap., *Manuale Historicum Missionum Ordinis Minorum Capuccinorum*, Isola del Liri, 1926.

Cox, Isaac Joslin, "The Louisiana-Texas Frontier," in *Texas State Historical Association Quarterly*, X, 1-76.

"De Ordine Nostro in America Septentrionali ante Fundationem Provinciarum," in *Analecta Ordinis Minorum Capuccinorum*, XXXIII, 1917.

Dionigi, Da Genova, *Bibliotheca Scriptorum Ordinis Minorum S. Francisci Capuccinorum*, Venice, 1747.

Eduardus, Alenconiensis, *De Primordiis Ordinis Minorum Capuccinorum*, Rome, 1921.

Eduardus, Alenconiensis, *Tribulationes Ordinis Minorum Capuccinorum*, Rome, 1914.

Escoriaza, Melchor De, *Cronica de las Missiones Capuchinos en Venezuela, Puerto Rico y Cuba*, Caracas, 1910.

Franz, Alexander, *Die Kolonization des Mississippitales*, Leipzig, 1906.

Gosselin, Abbé Auguste, *L'Eglise du Canada*, Quebec, 1917, 2 vols.

Gravier, Jacques, *Lettre du Père Jacques Gravier de la Compagnie de Jesus*, New York, 1865.

Guilday, Peter, *Life and Times of John Carroll, 1735-1815*, New York, 1922.

Heimbuecher, Dr. Max, *Die Orden und Kongregationen der Katholischen Kirche*, Paderborn, 1907, 3 vols.

Hosmer, J. K., *Short History of the Mississippi Valley*, Boston, 1901.

Hughes, Thomas, S. J., *History of the Society of Jesus in the United States*, New York, 1917, 4 vols.

Le Clercq, Chretien, *Etablissement de la Foy dans la Nouvelle France*, Paris, 1691. Shea trans., New York, 1881, 2 vols.

Lenhart, John, O. M. Cap., "The Capuchins in Acadia and Northern Maine," in *Records* (ACHS), vol. XXVII.

Lenhart, John, O. M. Cap., "The Church of Canada after the British Conquest, 1760-1775," in *Records* (ACHS), XXXI.

Marcellino, P. Da Civezza, *Storia Universale delle Missioni Francescane*, Florence, 1895, 11 vols.

Magry, Pierre, *Discouvertes et Etablissement des Français dans l'Ouest et dans le Sud de l'Amerique Septentrionale 1614-1754*, Paris, 1876-1886.

Martin de Nantes, *Relation Succincte et Sincere de la Mission du Père Martin de Nantes*, Quimper, 1707.

Mezler, J. B., *Geschichte und Handlung der Franzoesischen Pflanzstaedte in Nordamerika*, Stuttgart, 1756.

Michaelangelus a Ruxilione, *Cenni Biografici Ritratti di Padri Illustri dell' Ordine Capuccino Sublimati alle Dignita Ecclesiastiche*, Rome, 1850, 3 vols.

Monette, J. W., *History of the Discovery and Settlement of the Valley of the Mississippi*, New York, 1846, 2 vols.

"Nota delle Provincie li Provinciali delle quali hanno la Prefettura delle Missioni colle facoltà delle Sag. Cong. de Propaganda Fide," in *Analecta Capuccinorum*, XXI.

O'Rourke, Thomas P., C. S. B., *The Franciscan Missions in Texas*, Washington, D. C., 1927.

Pittman, Philip, *The Present State of European Settlements on the Mississippi*, London, 1770.

The Province of St. Joseph of the Capuchin Order in the United States, New York, 1907.

Rocco, Da Cesinale, *Missiones dei Capuccini*, Paris, 1867.

Rochemonteix, Le P. Camille De, S. J., *Les Jesuites et la Nouvelle-France au XVIIIe Siècle*, Paris, 1906, 3 vols.

Scharl, Severin, O. M. Cap., "The Capuchins in English-speaking Lands," in *The Seraphic Child of Mary*, IV, V.

Shea, John Gilmary, *The Catholic Church in Colonial Days*, New York, 1886.

Shea, John Gilmary, *History of the Catholic Missions among the Indian Tribes of the United States*, New York, 1854.

Schrader, Frederick, *The Germans in the Making of America*, Boston, 1924.

Steck, Francis Borgia, O. F. M., *The Jolliet-Marquette Expedition of 1673*, Quincy, 1928.

Tetu, *Les Eveques de Quebec*, Quebec, 1899.

Thwaites, Reuben Gold, *Jesuit Relations, 1610-1791*, Cleveland, 1896-1901.

Vermeersch, Arthur, S. J., *De Religiosis*, Brugis, 1920, 9 vols. + supplement.

Wallace, Joseph, *The History of Illinois and Louisiana under the French Rule*, Cincinnati, 1893.

Winsor, Justin, *The Mississippi Basin*, New York, 1895.

E. Special Works.

Andry, Laure, *Histoire de la Louisiane*, New Orleans, 1882.

Barbezieux, Alexis de, O. M. Cap., "La Affaires des Capucins en Louisiane," in *Nouvelle France*, XV.

Barbezieux, Alexis de, O. M. Cap., "La Louisiane," in *Etudes Franciscaines*, V.

Bernard, Jean Frederic, *Relationes de la Louisiane et du Fleuve Mississippi*, Amsterdam, 1720.

"Bienville," in Quarterly (LH), I. (Pamphlet.)

Biever, Albert Hubert, S. J., *The Jesuits in New Orleans and the Mississippi Valley*, New Orleans, 1924.

Bispham, Clarence, "Contest for Ecclesiastical Supremacy in the Valley of the Mississippi," *Quarterly* (LH), I.

Bunner, E., *History of Louisiana from its First Discovery and Settlement to the Present Time*, New York, 1843.

Chambers, Henry Edward, *A History of Louisiana*, New York, 1925.

Chambon, C. M., *In and around the Old St. Louis Cathedral of New Orleans*, New Orleans, 1908.

"Criminal Trials in Louisiana," in *Quarterly* (LH), III.

Cruzat, Heloise Hulse, "The Ursulines of Louisiana," in *Quarterly* (LH), II.

Debouchel, Victor, *Histoire de la Louisiane depuis les primieres decouvertes jusqu'en, 1840*, New Orleans, 1840.

Deiler, J. Hanno, *Zur Geschichte der Deutschen Kirchengemeinden im Staate Louisiana*, New Orleans, 1894.

Deiler, J. Hanno, *Louisiana Ein Heim fuer Deutsche Ansiedler*, New Orleans, 1895.

Deiler, J. Hanno, *Geschichte der Deutschen Gesellschaft von New Orleans*, New Orleans, 1897.

Deiler, J. Hanno, *The Settlement of the German Coast of Louisiana and the Creoles of German Descent*, Philadelphia, 1909.

Deiler, J. Hanno, *Die Ersten Deutschen am Unteren Mississippi*, New Orleans, 1904.

Deiler, J. Hanno, *Geschichte der Deutschen am Unteren Mississippi*, New Orleans, 1901.

Dimitry, Charles, "The Heart of Louisiana," in *Magazine of American History*, XIII.

Dumont, De Montigny, *Memoires Historiques sur la Louisiane*, Paris, 1753.

Fortier, Alcée, *A Few Words about the Creoles of Louisiana*, Baton Rouge, 1892.

Fortier, Alcée, *History of Louisiana*, New York, 1904.

Gayarre, Charles, *Histoire de la Louisiane*, New Orleans, 1846, 2 vols.

Gayarre, Charles, *Romance of the History of Louisiana*, New York, 1848.

Gayarre, Charles, *Louisiana—Its History as a French Colony*, New York, 1852.

Gayarre, Charles, *The Early History of Louisiana*, Washington, D. C., 1880.

Gayarre, Charles, *History of Louisiana*, New Orleans, 1885.

Gournay, De, P. F., "Creole Peculiarities," in *Magazine of American History*, XVI.

Gravier, Henri, *La Colonization de la Louisiane a l'Epoque de Law Octobre 1717-Janvier 1721*, Paris, 1904.

Hamilton, Peter J., *Colonial Mobile*, New York, 1897.

Heinrich, Pierre, *La Louisiane sous la Compagnie des Indes, 1717-1731*, Paris, 1908.

Hennepin, P. L., *Description de la Louisiane*, Paris, 1688.

Hosmer, J. K., *History of the Louisiana Purchase*, New York, 1902.

King, Grace, *New Orleans, the Place and the People*, New York, 1892.

King, Grace, *Jean Baptiste le Moyne Sieur de Bienville*, New York, 1892.

King, Grace, *A History of Louisiana*, New Orleans, 1893.

King, Grace, *Stories from Louisiana History*, New Orleans, 1905.

Jeron, Otto, O. M. Cap., "The Capuchins in America," in *Historical Records and Studies*, V.

La Harpe, Bernard de, *Journal Historique de l'Etablissement des Français a la Louisiane*, New Orleans, 1831.

Le Maire, François, *Memoire inedit sur la Louisiane*, New Orleans, 1899.

Le Page Du Pratz, *Histoire de la Louisiane*, Paris, 1758, 3 vols.

Martin, François Xavier, *The Story of Louisiana*, New Orleans, 1827, 2 vols.

Mejia, Lillian Norvell, "Old Red Church is Famous Landmark of Lower River," in *Times-Picayune*, New Orleans, March 25, 1923.

O'Brien, J. J., S. J., "Sketch of the Expulsion of the Society of Jesus from Colonial Louisiana," in *Proceedings and Reports of the Louisiana Historical Society*, IX.

Penfier, Le Père, "La Religion en Louisiane," in *L'Observateur Louisianais*, V.

Phelps, Albert, *Louisiana, A Record of Expansion*, Boston, 1905.

"School Situation Reviewed," in *Quarterly* (LH), V.

Shea, John Gilmary, "The Beginnings of the Capuchin Mission in Louisiana," in *Magazine* (USCH), II.

Sketch of the Catholic Church in the City of Natchez, Mississippi, Natchez, 1886.

Smith, Walter Robinson, *A Brief History of the Louisiana Territory*, St. Louis, 1904.

"Some Southern Cities in the United States about 1750," in *Records* (ACHS), X.

Stoddard, Amos, *Sketches, Historical and Descriptive of Louisiana*, Philadelphia, 1812.

Thompson, Maurice, *The Story of Louisiana*, Boston, 1888.

Thompson, T. P., *The St. Louis Cathedral of New Orleans*, New Orleans, 1918. (Pamphlet.)

The Ursulines in New Orleans, New York, 1925.

Vergennes, Charles Gravier Comte de, *Memoire Historique et Politique sur la Louisiane*, Paris, 1802.

Villiers, Du Terrace Marc de, "A History of the Foundation of New Orleans, 1717-1722," *Quarterly* (LH), III.

Villiers, Du Terrace Marc de, *Les Dernieres Années de la Louisiane Française*, Paris, 1904.

Walker, Norman, "The Geographical Nomenclature of Louisiana," in *Magazine of American History*, X.

Walker, Norman, "The Holidays in Early Louisiana," in *Magazine of American History*, X.

Watrin, Philibert Francis, S. J., "Memoir on the Louisiana Missions," in *Researches* (ACHS), XVII.

ABBREVIATIONS.

Arch. (LHS)—Archives of the Louisiana Historical Society.
Magazine (USCH)—United States Catholic Historical Magazine.
Quarterly (LH)—Louisiana Historical Quarterly.
Records (ACHS)—American Catholic Historical Society.
Researches (ACHS)—American Catholic Historical Society.

CHAPTER I

Discovery and Settlement of Louisiana: 1539-1722

Three centuries ago the vast territory of Louisiana, destined to be evangelized by the Capuchin Sons of St. Francis, lay slumbering in its cradle of wilderness. Scarcely known to the white race, it was the hereditary domain of the Red Man. Scattered in tribes, the Indians roamed the magnificent country of the Mississippi Valley from the Lakes of Canada in the North to the Gulf of Mexico in the South. Whence they had come is still unknown, for the glimmerings of vague traditions have never proved more than dreamy speculations of fancy. There were the Natchez, worshippers of the Sun-god; the powerful Choctaws, the ferocious Chicasaws, the heroic Mobilians, the brave Alibamons. There they lived in primitive state, with no other food or shelter than Mother Nature provided. They dwelt in miserable huts, and scoured wood and stream for food; they spoke different languages and followed customs so contradictory that often mere contact with another tribe was the signal for bloody war. This is Louisiana in the dark ages of its existence, of whose primeval history we know nothing save the vague traditions of the Indians.

But the time approached when the historical record of that country was to begin. On May 30, 1539, the shores of what is now Tampa Bay presented a curious spectacle. Nine vessels of quaint shape, floating the royal banner of Spain, were moored to the shore and an army of six thousand soldiers with whom were six secular priests and four friars landed under the command of Hernando de Soto, the illustrious companion of Pizarro in the conquest of Peru.[1] The day on which this brave fleet had sighted Florida was Pentecost Sunday, wherefore the Bay was named *La Bahia del Espíritu Santo.* From this point the celebrated Spaniard began his exploration of this unknown country of the Indians. With the air of conquerors the gallant sons of Spain marched in refulgent armor through long

[1] Steck, Francis Borgia, O. F. M., *The Jolliet-Marquette Expedition of 1673*, pp. 14-15, Quincy, 1928.

vistas of pine woods to the wild astonishment of the dusky natives. Many an encounter did they have with those Indians who, leagued against the bold intruders, attacked them under cover of night. But on they swept over hill and dale and stream until they came to the banks of the Mississippi, near the site where now flourishes the Egyptian-named city of Memphis. Crossing the Father of Waters, De Soto continued his march until he arrived at the mouth of the Red River within the present limits of the State of Louisiana. Here he was doomed to end his career of adventure. Three years of bodily fatigue had sapped his strength and he fell a victim to a severe fever. Seeing that death was near, he confessed his sins and, entrusting the conversion of the natives to his survivors, he passed away either in the latter part of May or first part of June, 1542.

For three days his sorrowing companions concealed his body in a hut, then buried it secretly by night. Upon second thought, however, they disinterred the remains and lowered them into the Mississippi. De Soto, a warrior of the first rank, had always struck terror into the Indians, hence his surviving comrades felt more secure from attack so long as the savages might not be aware of their leader's death.[2]

But the Indians knew that De Soto had been ill, and meeting him no longer, suspected the reason. Soon they renewed their attacks on his shattered army and forced it to flee from the shores of Louisiana. Taking to their rudely constructed vessels, the Spaniards floated down the Mississippi and after months of almost constant peril finally reached the mouth of Pánuco River on September 10, 1543. This expedition of De Soto which ended so disastrously was one of the most elaborate and persistent efforts of the Spaniards to explore the interior of North America. It was also the first extensive exploration of at least ten states: Florida, Georgia, Carolina, Tennessee, Alabama, Mississippi, Arkansas, Oklahoma, Louisiana and Texas.[3] The account of this expedition likewise records the discovery of the Mississippi and the first voyage of Europeans upon its waters.

[2] Gayarre, Charles, *History of Louisiana, The French Domination*, pp. 10-21, New York, 1866.

[3] Bolton, Herbert E., *The Spanish Borderlands* in *Chronicles of America* Series, p. 51, New Haven, 1921.

Since the appearance of De Soto in the forests of Louisiana in 1542, more than a century elapsed before another attempt was made to penetrate that forsaken region. On June 17, 1673, a small band of Europeans, headed by the Canadian trader, Louis Jolliet, and Father Jacques Marquette, reached the Mississippi which they had come to seek from Quebec. Their finding of the great river was hailed as a discovery and again attention was drawn to the Mississippi Valley. Less than a decade later, the year 1682, again saw the white man in the great Valley. This time it was the celebrated Norman explorer, Robert Cavelier de La Salle, who dreamed that the Mississippi drew its source in the vicinity of the Celestial Empire, and proposed the gigantic plan of connecting the Mississippi with the St. Lawrence by a chain of forts, so that France might command the trade of China. Sailing down the great river to its mouth on April 9, 1682, he took possession in the name of France of all the country watered by the Mississippi and its tributaries. To that immense region he gave the name *Louisiane* in honor of King Louis XIV of France. In 1684, La Salle returned to France and a fleet of four vessels with all equipment necessary to establish a colony was placed at his disposal. But his star of success was on the wane. Dissension had been sown among his followers, interest in colonization had cooled and the settlement at Fort Louis on the coast of Texas, where they landed by mistake, was a complete failure. For three years the colonists wandered through Texas encountering many dangers until their leader was found murdered by his own men on March 19, 1687.

Like most explorers of the time, La Salle was deeply interested in the establishment of the faith in the land he had dedicated to King Louis XIV of the Christian Name. On his expeditions through the Mississippi Valley he was accompanied by the Flemish Recollects, Louis Hennepin, Zenobius Membré, Melithon Watteau and others, whom he assigned to different posts.[4] Descending the Mississippi in 1681, Zenobius Membré bore La Salle company and under his protection was privileged to plant the cross at the mouth of the river, and to explain the truths of Christianity to the natives. This amiable friar returned with La Salle to Europe by

[4] Le Clercq, P. Christian, O. F. M., *First Establishment of the Faith in New France*, II, p. 109, New York, 1881. Shea transl.

way of Canada and the Recollect Mission in the Mississippi Valley came to a close. "All we have done," said the good friar, "has been to see the state of these nations, and to open the way to the Gospel and to missionaries, having baptized only two infants whom I saw at the point of death, and who, in fact, died in our presence." [5]

In reality, however, the Recollect Mission was not closed. Count de Frontenac, the Governor of Canada, carrying out the king's instructions,[6] induced the French Government to ask the Holy See to erect one or more Vicariates-Apostolic in the immense territory of the Valley, as the field was thought too extensive for the Bishop of Quebec. Rome looked with favor upon the project and on December 8, 1685, Father Hyacinth Le Febvre of the Recollect Province of St. Denis in France, was named Prefect of the mission *in the island, popularly called Louisiana in America.* The faculties were given *ad Septemnium* with the condition, however, that four more Fathers be sent to Louisiana, but after this no more, except the Sacred Congregation be consulted. The four additional Fathers who were assigned to the Recollect Vicariate were Fathers Zenobius Membré, Maximus Le Clercq, Anastasius Douay and Dionysius Morguet.[7]

But the Prefecture of the Recollects was shortlived. When Bishop Saint Vallier of Quebec was apprised of its establishment, he promptly protested both to Paris and Rome against the dismemberment of his diocese without his knowledge and consent. He regarded the Mississippi Valley as his own, urging that it had been explored by Marquette, a priest of his diocese, and Jolliet, a pupil of his seminary. The truth of the matter is, the Bishop of Quebec had some grievance against the Recollects which at least partly

[5] Shea, John Gilmary, *The Catholic Church in Colonial Days*, pp. 326-327, New York, 1886.

[6] On April 7, 1672, the king informed Frontenac that: "he is to protect the Sulpicians and the Recollects, so as to counterbalance the authority of the Jesuits." Paris Archives (Colonies), B 4, f. 38. On June 13, 1673, the French Minister, Colbert, answered Frontenac that: "he will send out two Recollect Priests, and a like number every year, in order to counterbalance the excessive authority of the Jesuits." *Ibid.*, B 5, f. 25.

[7] Marcellino P. Da Civezza, M. O., *Storia delle Missioni Francescane*, XI, pp. 24-25, Florence, 1895. Here, as in all other instances throughout the book, the Italics are mine.

influenced him to oppose their Prefecture. This we learn from the Royal Instructions sent to the new governor of Canada, the Sieur de la Barre, on May 10, 1682, wherein it is expressly stated that "the Bishop of Quebec has in several instances manifested much animosity towards the Recollects." [8]

It had been the ardent desire of the King and his government that the Recollects be given a mission in Louisiana where eventually a diocese should be erected. In a letter of April 10, 1684, to the Bishop of Quebec, the French Minister, Colbert, expressed surprise that His Lordship had excluded the Recollects from the missions of his diocese.[9] In 1685, Cardinal D'Estrées also urged the government to send Recollects to the newly discovered territory of Louisiana, but received the answer that according to the Papal Bull Louisiana was under the jurisdiction of the Bishop of Quebec against whose wishes no change should be made. "Later on," continued the Minister, "a new bishopric may be erected." [10] Accordingly, in answer to Bishop Saint Vallier's protest against the Recollect Prefecture, King Louis XIV in 1685, referred the matter to three commissioners, the Archbishop of Paris, the King's confessor, Père La Chaise and the Marquis de Seignelay, and on their report, petitioned the Holy See for a revocation of the Vicariate. The Recollects now withdrew from their missions in the Valley and the care of them devolved upon the Jesuits whom we soon find at the various Indian settlements throughout the North. While the French Government respected the wishes of the Bishop of Quebec, it was by no means in accord with his views. With the death of La Salle in 1687, the colonization of Louisiana received its deathblow and the Minister wrote to Bishop Saint Vallier on May 20, 1689: "The death of La Salle solves *for the present* the question of the jurisdiction of the Bishop of Quebec over the places discovered." [11] Between the lines we read his hope for a different arrangement in future.

With the failure of La Salle to colonize Louisiana, a number of years was destined to pass before another attempt would be made. James II was expelled from England in 1688, and the war which ensued between Louis XIV and William III lasted until 1697.

[8] Paris Arch. Col., B 8, f. 1.
[9] *Ibid.*, B 9, f. 34.
[10] *Ibid.*, F 3, f. 166.
[11] *Ibid.*, B 15, f. 62.

With the dawn of peace the King once more thought of settling the land discovered by La Salle and named after His Majesty. For this task, Maurepas, the new French Minister, chose the celebrated Pierre Le Moyne d'Iberville, son of Charles Le Moyne, a Norman living in Canada. The family from which Iberville sprang was remarkable. The father and five sons had died on the field of battle serving their country, and of the remaining six, five were destined to consecrate themselves to the establishment of a colony in Louisiana. Iberville, the third eldest, was a brave officer of the marine, "as military as his sword." He sailed from Brest on October 24, 1698, a date eminently significant in the history of the United States, for aboard the small frigates, the *Badine* and the *Marin,* were the seeds whence should spring, Louisiana, the province destined to give the American Union thirteen states and one territory, and to exert a great influence on our civilization. In February, 1699, Iberville and his younger brother Bienville saw the rugged coast of the Gulf of Mexico, and, before visiting the Mississippi, left their fleet anchored at the Chandleur Islands, whence they proceeded to explore the coastland. In their exploration they discovered and named Ship Island and Cat Island, so-called because as the chronicler adds: " we killed a number of cats and so called the island Cat Island." [12] The name, however, is a misnomer, for the animals killed were not cats but raccoons with which the island abounded.[13]

Leaving Cat Island, they sailed toward Florida and struck a great bay indenting the coast of the present state of Mississippi, which they named Biloxi Bay, after the Indians dwelling on its shores. On the east side at the mouth of the bay they noticed an elevation of the shore comprising an area of about four square acres, sloping gently to the woods in the background, while on the right and left two deep ravines ran into the bay. The position was thus fortified by nature and therefore suitable for a settlement. The weakest point, which was on the side of the forest, they strengthened by connecting with a strong entrenchment the two ravines,

[12] Penicaut, M., " Annals of Louisiana, 1698-1722," in B. F. French's *Historical Collections of Louisiana and Florida,* p. 36, New York, 1869.

[13] Walker, Norman Wm. F., " The Geographical Nomenclature of Louisiana," *Magazine of American History,* X, p. 212.

which ran parallel to the bay. A few huts having been thrown up around the fort, it was named Fort Maurepas in honor of the French Minister in Paris. The settlers now began to clear the land for cultivation.[14]

Having provided the settlers with all necessary supplies, Iberville sailed for France on May 3, to report to the King and also to gather more colonists and provisions. Before his departure he appointed Sauvolle, his brother, commander of Fort Biloxi, and Bienville, lieutenant and second in command. Sauvolle, who may be considered the first governor of Louisiana, fell ill and died on August 22, 1701. Louisiana now remained under the sole charge of Bienville. The latter had hardly committed his brother to the tomb when Iberville returned with two shiploads of colonists and provisions. One of the first changes now ordered by Iberville was to remove the principal seat of the colony from Biloxi Bay to Mobile River. Not only was Biloxi difficult of access from the sea, but the climate was very unhealthful, breeding fevers and death among the colonists. In summer there was excessive heat, while the winter brought on damaging storms. The situation was altogether unsuitable for the headquarters of the colony.[15] Accordingly in January, 1702, Fort Louis de la Mobile was constructed at a point eighteen leagues, or about fifty-four miles, from the sea and hither the capital was transferred. But Biloxi, the old fort, was not abandoned, for Bienville left there Boisbriant, his cousin, with twenty men to reclaim the land for cultivation.

Henceworth Iberville did not tarry long in Louisiana. His home was the broad ocean and, seeing the infant colony well provided for in Governor Bienville, he departed, hoping later to return. In 1703 war broke out between Great Britain, France and Spain, and Iberville engaged in expeditions for the French. In the course of his sea excursions he had come to San Domingo to reinforce himself with soldiers from that garrison. While there he contracted yellow fever and died on July 9, 1706. Thus passed away the great founder of the Louisiana colony in whose honor Iberville Parish,

[14] Penicaut: *Op. cit.*, p. 38; Gayarre, *Op. cit.*, 57-58.

[15] Franz, Alexander, *Die Kolonization des Mississippitales*, p. 70, Leipzig, 1906.

one of the most important parishes in Louisiana, has been named.[16]

Meanwhile the spiritual life of the colony was not neglected. In the northern part of the Valley the Jesuits had opened missions at Kaskaskia, Michilimackinac, Peoria and at various other Indian villages. With the Tamarois, Taensas, Choctaws, Natchez and other tribes were the Secular Priests of the Foreign Missions. These missionaries, sent by the Bishop of Quebec in 1699, went up and down the Valley ministering not only to the Indians, but also to the French settled at various points. One of these Foreign Missionaries, Father Bordenave, attended regularly the Biloxi Settlement as early as 1699, the year the fort was built, and begins the line of zealous priests in that territory. Savolle bears testimony to the exemplary life of this missionary and records that he said Mass daily for the French and gathered them morning and evening to prayers as on board ship.[17] In the same year the Recollects again turned their eyes toward Louisiana, and on May 4, 1699, their Commissary General petitioned the Holy See to appoint Father Anastasius Douay, former companion of La Salle, Prefect of the Louisiana Mission. We are not sure that Propaganda acceded to this request.[18] But whether Prefect or no, Father Anastasius Douay came again to Louisiana in 1699 and accompanied Iberville and Bienville on their expeditions to the Indians and was present at the discovery of Deer Island.[19] This missionary worked zealously, especially at Easter time, hearing confessions and distributing Holy Communion both on the ships and at the fort.

In 1700, or 1701, Father Anastasius Douay returned to France and was replaced by the Jesuit, Father Paul Du Ru, who came to Louisiana with Iberville on his return voyage. On February 14 this missionary erected a cross at Fort Mississippi, which had been built at a distance of fifty-four miles from the mouth of the river.

[16] Gayarre, *Op. cit.*, p. 94. Louisiana is the only state in the Union in which the word "parish" is used to designate "county."

[17] Shea, *Op. cit.*, p. 542.

[18] Fish in his *Guide to the Materials for American History in Roman and other Italian Archives*, Washington, D. C., 1911, p. 134, lists this request among the documents of 1699, but makes no mention of a response.

[19] King, Grace, *Jean Baptiste le Moyne Sieur de Bienville*, p. 25, New York, 1892.

Here he offered the Holy Sacrifice and blessed a cemetery. Later Father Du Ru took up his residence at Biloxi and acted as chaplain to the French garrison and as missionary to the Pascagoulas, Chickasaws, Pensacolas and Biloxis. In 1702, another Jesuit, Father Peter Dongé, joined him and both labored in the districts of Mobile and Biloxi. Father Du Ru is considered the first resident priest in Mobile.[20] These Jesuits now applied to the Bishop of Quebec to assign them an exclusive district, but the Bishop paid no heed to their request. In 1703, they had recourse to the Pope, asking that instructions be sent to the Bishop of Quebec for a permanent division of Louisiana between the different bodies of missionaries, namely, the Jesuits and the Seminary Priests of Quebec. On September 24, 1703, Propaganda granted their petition.[21] Before this time the Minister Pontchartrain had written to the Bishop of Quebec on June 17, 1703:

> The Jesuit Fathers desire that a district should be assigned to them exclusively for their missions on the Mississippi; otherwise their quarrels will be a cause of disedification. It is their desire that to that end the Bishop of Quebec shall take for his Vicar-General the Superior, whom they would establish there. On the other hand, the Seminary Priests who have missions there insist on having one of their number at the principal settlement [*i. e.* Mobile], and on being independent of the Jesuits. The King will decide nothing without having his advice.[22]

But Bishop Saint Vallier did not wait to confer with the King. On July 20, 1703, he erected Fort St. Louis at Mobile into a canonical parish and annexed it in perpetuity to the Seminary Priests of Quebec. The Jesuits were recalled to France by their Provincial on March 7, 1704.[23]

[20] Biever, Albert, S. J., *The Jesuits in New Orleans and the Mississippi Valley*, p. 17, New Orleans, 1924.

[21] Propaganda Arch. *Atti*, Anni 1703, Sept. 24, f. 211-212; Hughes, Thomas, S. J., *History of the Society of Jesus in North America*, II, p. 257, London, 1917.

[22] Paris Arch. Col., B 23, f. 178.

[23] Hamilton, Peter J., *Colonial Mobile*, pp. 53-54, New York, 1897; Biever, *Op. cit.*, p. 18.

The first pastor to be appointed was Father Henry Roulleaux de la Vente of the diocese of Bayeux, and the first curate was Father Alexander Huvé. While awaiting their arrival Father Davion discharged the parochial functions. His name is the first to appear in the Mobile Register as having baptized an Apalache girl on September 6, 1704. The pastor and curate of Mobile parish arrived with other priests on the *Pelican* July 24, 1704. With them came also two Gray Nuns (*Soeurs Grises*), but not to remain in the colony; they merely chaperoned a number of marriageable girls to Louisiana and returned to France.

When Fathers La Vente and Huvé arrived at Mobile they found that a church was in process of construction and was under the direction of Father Davion, who was living with Father Dongé, the Jesuit. The house they occupied was new and still without doors and windows. It is said that the Jesuit had loaned the money to build the house.[24] Although Father La Vente had arrived in Mobile on July 24, 1704, he did not take formal possession of his church until September 28, which seems to signify that only then the building of his church was completed. On the latter date he was formally inducted into his parish, as we learn from the old Baptismal Record still preserved in the Cathedral rectory at Mobile. This Baptismal Record is a veritable treasure of American Church history. It contains the story of the first permanent settlement of the Gulf coast, French Louisiana, with signatures of many of its leaders and side lights on their lives. Unknown to almost all save their immediate custodians, slowly crumbling into dust under the hand of time, these pages are still eloquent voices of the past. In some places the ink has faded, in others it has eaten through the page. Some leaves are so full of decay that an attempt to turn them makes them fall into pieces. The bookworm, too, has done its work. As if with a sword it has cut snake-like figures through scores of pages. And yet it is just such a book that makes the past live before us. Opening this oldest record, we read on the very first page how the first pastor took possession of the first parish church in the Mississippi Valley. The record follows:

[24] King, Grace, *Op. cit.*, p. 151.

I, the undersigned priest and missionary apostolic, declare to all whom it may concern, that, in the year of salvation 1704, on the 28th of September, in virtue of the letters of provision and collation granted and sealed on July 20th of last year, by which Monseigneur, the most Illustrious and Reverend Bishop of Quebec, erects a parochial church in the place called Fort Louis of Louisiana, and whereof he gives the cure and care to M. Henry Roulleaux De La Vente, missionary apostolic of the diocese of Bayeux, I have placed the said priest in actual and corporal possession of the said parochial church and of all the rights belonging thereto, after having observed the accustomed and requisite ceremonies, namely, the entry into the church, the sprinkling of holy water, kissing of the high altar, the touching of the missal, the visit to the Blessed Sacrament of the Altar, the ringing of the bells, which possession I attest that no one opposed.

Given in the parochial church of St. Louis on the aforesaid year and day of the month, in the presence of John Baptist de Bienville, Lieutenant of the King, and Commander of the said fort; of Peter du Quay de Boisbriant, Major; Nicolas de La Salle, Scribe and acting Commissary of the Marine.

Signed: Davion, Bienville, Boisbriant, de La Salle.

For the next six years the parochial affairs of Mobile were administered by these two Secular Priests, Father La Vente alternating with Father Huvé in the baptismal entries until 1710, when La Vente returned to France on account of illness.

A few years after the establishment of the parish at Mobile, the situation of the colony became deplorable. Climatic and other unsanitary conditions had thinned the ranks of the settlers and the Indians became more hostile to those who remained. Then came internal troubles caused by La Salle, Bienville's jealous rival, who strained every effort to spread dissatisfaction among the disappointed colonists. In 1708, the intrigant, who was the Intendant Commissary of the Crown, was removed from office and replaced by Diron D'Artaguette. When the latter arrived, he found only some three hundred of the well-nigh two thousand colonists sent to Louisiana. Of these there were one hundred and twenty soldiers; eighty Indian slaves; twenty-four men; twenty-eight women and twenty-five children. There were also about sixty roving Canadians. At this time cattle raising seems to have thrived, for the farms are said to have possessed fifty cows, four bulls, fourteen

hundred swine and two thousand chickens. As yet the horse had not been introduced.[25]

At this time Bienville suggested to make another change in the base of the colony and the government consented. A rise in the river had caused a flood that left undamaged only the high elevations. This was a disaster as serious as it was unexpected, and fearing a repetition, it was decided to remove the capital to Mobile Bay, the present site of the city of Mobile. Accordingly, Aide-Major Pailloux directed the planning of the new fort and city, marking the sites for the fort and barracks, and assigning land to each family. For a whole year they worked at the fort and in 1710 all moveables and merchandise were transported in canoes, cannon and munitions by floats. Soon the old fort was entirely abandoned.[26]

Even after the transfer of the capital, the colony continued in its lingering condition, gasping for breath in its cradle until 1712, when on September 14, the King of France devised a new scheme for insuring its life and growth. He granted to Antony Crozat, a rich merchant, the exclusive privilege of trading for fifteen years in Louisiana. The country was actually farmed out to Crozat, who was to possess and work all the mines that might be discovered, provided that one-fourth of the proceeds be reserved for the King. He had also the privilege of owning forever all the lands he would improve by cultivation, all buildings he might erect and all the manufactures he might establish. His principal obligation in exchange for these advantages was to send annually to Louisiana two ships of colonists, and after nine years to assume all the expenses for the administration. For the present, the yearly sum of fifty thousand livres ($10,000) was allowed Crozat for the King's share of the expenses entailed by the venture.[27] The King also agreed to maintain the necessary military forces in the country, while its government was to be confided to a council as in the islands of San Domingo and Martinique. Bienville, who believed that the welfare of Louisiana lay in agriculture rather than in trade, was unceremoniously assigned to what might be called the Indian

[25] Hamilton, *Op. cit.*, pp. 58-59.
[26] *Ibid.*, p. 69.
[27] Gayarre, *Op. cit.*, pp. 79-115.

department, and La Mothe Cadillac, a kind of partner to Crozat, was sent to rule as governor.

The chief object of Crozat was trade, not with Louisiana, but rather with Mexico and the Spanish possessions. He therefore proposed the establishment of a warehouse for his merchandise on Dauphin Island and a line of trading brigantines to touch at all Spanish ports between Pensacola, Vera Cruz and the Campeche coast. His project seemed warranted by the approaching Peace of Utrecht, and success appeared more than plausible. But his plans miscarried. The same peace which guaranteed his ships liberated also the merchant marine of England and this powerful trading nation secured not only the closing of these same ports to French vessels, but also the monopoly of the slave trade. Crozat's charter, before he could put it into execution, was in fact waste paper. Nevertheless, he was willing to risk the more or less illicit trade with the rich provinces of New Mexico and at the same time rely on the revenues accruing from Louisiana mines. At the end of three years, however, he met nothing but bitter disappointment. The Mississippi Valley yielded neither gold nor silver and when he attempted commercial relations with the Spaniards they persistently closed their ports to French ships and kept a strict guard over their Texas frontier.[28]

Crozat fought a losing fight. Even Cadillac, the governor, realized the failure of the project and with little regard for his partner's feelings reported disparagingly of the commercial venture. In his letter of October 25, 1713, to the Minister in Paris he says:

> All the commerce heretofore has only consisted of timber, deer, bear, and wildcat skins. The *coureurs de bois* get the skins and slaves from the Indians, and sell them to the colonists. The skins were resold to the Spaniards at Pensacola or to the vessels that came from the islands; the slaves were employed in sawing timber and clearing the land. The colonists carried to Pensacola, where there was no clearing, their vegetables and corn, and this trade threw a little money into the colony and gave the colonists the means of buying from the islands. This is all and the only commerce here. It has

[28] Villiers De, Baron Marc, "A History of the Foundation of New Orleans" (1717-1722), Warrington Dawson transl., *The Louisiana Historical Quarterly*, III, p. 170.

> not enriched the colonists, for they are very poor, but it has enabled them to subsist. . . . If there is anything to wonder at, it is that with so much poverty and so little commerce, the inhabitans should have consented to remain in the colony.[29]

These unfortunate conditions prevailed till 1716, when the situation appeared desperate. The number of soldiers had dwindled to some hundred and twenty, and if Cadillac's statements are true, there were not more than sixty colonists and officials. Such a handful of Frenchmen could not have defended Louisiana against encroachments of the English who had settled as masters among the Choctaws and the Natchez. When the Chamber of Justice became acquainted with the situation, it imposed a heavy tax upon Crozat (it was said to exceed six million livres), but the great financier, rather than pay what was demanded, retroceded his privilege. On January 13, 1717, the Council, recognizing that the improvement of Louisiana was too great an undertaking for one private individual, decided to organize a company powerful enough for this enterprise.

Accordingly, Crozat surrendered his lease to the Duke of Orleans, Regent of France after the death of Louis XIV, and the company was formed in August, 1717. It was chartered at Paris under the name of *La Compagnie d'Occident* (Company of the West). John Law, a shrewd, unscrupulous adventurer of Scotland, became the head of the new organization, which received almost unlimited power. It was authorized to monopolize the commerce of Louisiana; to make treaties with the Indians; to declare war against them in the defense of the colony; to grant lands, build forts, levy troops and to open and work all mines which might be discovered. It was entitled to nominate men for offices, subject, of course, to the King's approval. In a word, this select body was empowered to use every means to further the economic and religious welfare of Louisiana. Among the obligations imposed upon it was the stipulation to introduce into Louisiana six thousand white persons and three thousand Negro slaves, and to protect the colonists from Indian outrages.[30] Later the Company changed its name to *Com-*

[29] King, Grace, *Op. cit.*, pp. 191-192.

[30] Charlevoix, P. F. X. De, S. J., *History and General Description of New France*, Shea transl. VI, pp. 37-38, New York, 1872.

pagnie des Indes (Company of the Indies). On January 5, 1720, John Law succeeded in being appointed comptroller-general of the finances of France, including those of Louisiana. But, like Crozat, he failed after a few years, and all the mass of paper notes issued by his bank proved so much paper, for it was impossible to equalize the proportion between the bank notes and the coin. This instance is referred to as the "Mississippi Bubble," the bursting of which ruined Law and forced him to flee to Venice, where, poor and friendless, he died in 1729. The Company continued to control the affairs of Louisiana till 1731, when, acknowledging its failure, it relinquished its charter into the hands of the King.[31]

One of the outstanding obligations of the Company which it took steps to fulfill immediately after its organization was the provision of missionaries and churches for the settlers. The fifty-third clause of the contract read as follows:

> As in the settlement of the countries granted to the said Company by these Presents, We regard especially the glory of God by procuring the salvation of the inhabitants, Indians, savages and negroes, whom we desire to be instructed in the true religion, the said Company shall be obliged to build at its expense churches at the places where it forms settlements; as also to maintain there the necessary number of ecclesiastics; either with the rank of parish priests or such others as shall be suitable, in order to preach the Holy Gospel there, perform divine service, and administer the sacraments; all under the authority of the Bishop of Quebec.[32]

In compliance with this obligation, Captain Poyer, in the name of the Company, offered the mission district of Mobile to the Discalced Carmelites of France. These good Fathers accepted the mission and applied directly to Rome for a Brief of Apostolic Prefecture. On June 20, 1720, Rome published the desired Brief deputing Father James of St. Martin Prefect and declaring his companions missionaries of Louisiana.[33] On March 1, 1720, the Company issued Letters Patent to Father James of St. Martin, Father de St. Alexis and Father de St. Mary Magdalene for their establishment in

[31] Gayarre, *Op. cit.*, p. 453.
[32] Shea, *Op. cit.*, p. 562.
[33] Prop. Arch., *Atti*, 1720, ff. 308-309.

Louisiana.[34] But who was the first Carmelite to come to this American mission? When and whether the first Prefect, Father James of St. Martin, reached this far-away country is unknown. His name occurs neither in the Registers at Mobile nor in those of New Orleans. Of him we are sure only that he received the Patent of Prefecture with faculties of the *Formula Quarta ad Septemnium,* that he departed for the mission from the city of Dieppe in the latter part of 1720, and that by March 17, 1721, he had died and was succeeded by Father John Matthew of St. Anne.[35] The latter sailed from France in 1720 on the *L'Aventurier,* whose commander was M. Le Blanc. With him were ten soldiers, one cannonier, one woman, Marie Le Vechon, and fourteen other volunteers. Among the soldiers was M. Pechon de Comte, who had been appointed Major of the Alibamons.[36]

Heretofore, our Church historians, following Shea, have erroneously considered Father Matthew of St. Anne a Norman Capuchin, and have conferred on him the distinction of being the first of that Order to come to Louisiana. However, not only the title of "St. Anne" appended to his name, but also the Propaganda document prove him to be a Carmelite, and very probably the first of that Order to come to the Louisiana Mission.[37] The old Baptismal Register of Mobile shows his signature beneath a baptism dated January 18, 1721. Mobile, however, was not the first scene of his apostolic labors in the New World, for the first Marriage Register at New Orleans records that he solemnized a marriage there as early

[34] Paris Arch. Col., B 42 bis., f. 315.

[35] Prop. Arch. *Atti*, 1722, f. 138, No. 25.

[36] Paris Arch. Col., 464; Ottawa Arch., Cl, ff. 220-221.

[37] "In the year 1720, the Father Procurator General of the *Discalced Carmelites* has set forth that one of his religious had left from Dieppe with three other companions for the mission of said Island of Louisiana, and he said it would be very good for those entirely uncultivated and barbarous countries, if a Letter Patent of this Sacred Congregation would be sent to said Father whose name is James of St. Martin. Thereupon Your Eminences ordained, as it was done, that the Patent of Prefecture be sent to him with faculties according to the *Formula Quarta ad Septemnium* and that the other three religious be declared missionaries. When later the aforesaid Father James had died, the Prefecture was transferred last year to *Father Matthew of St. Anne.*" Prop. Arch., *Atti*, 1722, Aprilis 13, No. 25, ff. 138-139.

as October 22, 1720, signing himself *Jean Mathieu de Sta. Anna—Cure de Vieux Biloxi.* Later, he returned to Mobile and succeeded Father Alexander Huvé as regular pastor. Father Alexander Huvé was the last secular priest in charge of Mobile and his last signature appears under date of January 13, 1721.

In 1721, when Father Matthew first took charge of Mobile, he signed himself *Pretre religieux missionaire apostolique, Cure de la Mobile.* Later, however, in 1722 and 1723, his signature is *Vicaire Apostolique et Cure de la Mobile.* By what authority he assumed this new title is not known.[38] But no matter what his title, there is no gainsaying the fact that the work he did while administering the parochial affairs of Mobile stands out in Carmelite history. It is his distinction to have made the first conversions from Protestantism in the West and Southwest of America. On November 14, 1722, he received the abjuration of heresy of Magdelaine Moyennant, a native of the vicinity of Geneva. The lady could not write, but five witnesses attest her mark. On December 23, of the same year, Jean Baptiste de Roy also confessed the errors of his belief in the presence of seven witnesses. These abjurations are clearly noted down in the Mobile Register and to this remote day bear witness to the zeal of Father Matthew.

By the year 1718, interest in Mobile as the principal seat of the colony began to decline and the establishment of a new settlement in a better location absorbed the minds of the leaders. For long it had been observed that the soil at Biloxi and Mobile was rather sterile, while that bordering the Mississippi was rich and fruitful and fraught with more advantages for the struggling colony. On February 9, 1718, Bienville was nominated governor and, since he had always favored a permanent settlement along the great river, he was now determined to execute his plan. With the consent of the Company he selected a site about one hundred and ten miles from the mouth of the river and sent workmen there to begin the clearance. They removed the trees and bushes from a wide and

[38] The Papal Bull, according to which Shea would justify the action of Father Matthew, had no connection with Louisiana. It was issued in favor of a Norman Capuchin of the West Indies and at a later date. Cf. Shea, *Op. cit.*, pp. 564-565.

long strip along the river, and the Sieurs de La Tour and Pauger, chief engineers of the colony, laid out the prospective city.

Although long years of custom have consecrated the name *Vieux Carre* (the Old Square), nevertheless, the shape of the original New Orleans was not square but rectangular. The streets were perfectly straight and crossed each other at right angles, dividing the town into sixty-six squares. In the middle of the great rectangular swampy plain facing the river on the Rue Chartres a large square called the *Place d'Armes* was marked out for military purposes. Today this has been converted into a beautiful park called Jackson Square. Immediately facing the *Place d'Armes* on the opposite side of the street was the *Place d'Eglise,* a square reserved for a church, to the right of which was to be the prison; to the left, the presbytery.[39]

Despite the fact that the city plan called for a church and that Bienville indicated officially with his sword the place where it should be built, the people were for many years satisfied to worship in a wretched warehouse. In 1722 the Jesuit historian Charlevoix visited New Orleans and writing to the Duchess of Lesdiguières on January 10 says:

> I have at last arrived in this famous city called La Nouvelle-Orleans. . . . About a hundred huts placed here and there, a large store of wood, one or three houses and half of a miserable store comprise the town; the humblest village in France can boast of better homes. It was in this little store the Lord was first worshipped, but hardly had He been placed therein, when they had Him removed to place Him under a tent.[40]

However, shortly after Charlevoix's visit a small church is said to have been built and dedicated to St. Ignatius. Of this there is no record whatsoever. All we know of this first church is its destruction by a terrible hurricane on September 12, 1722. From the St. Louis Cathedral Archives at New Orleans we learn that the first regular missionary was Father F. Prothais Boyer, a Recollect, whose name appears under the first eleven records. His first entry is as follows:

[39] Pittman, Philip, *The Present State of European Settlements on the Mississippi,* p. 42, London, 1770.

[40] Chambon, C. M., *In and around the Old St. Louis Cathedral of New Orleans,* p. 16, New Orleans, 1908.

No. 1. The year 1720 and the first of July, a publication of the names having been made at the parochial Mass on the 16th of June, and dispensation for the two others having been granted, no impediment having been found between Peter Sinton, a native of Chatelleraux, son of Mr. Adrian Sinton and François Ressay, his father and mother, and Nicole Daucune, native of Chalons in Champagne, daughter of Philip Daucune and Dame Caffet, her father and mother, I, undersigned, missionary and acting pastor in New Orleans, have received their mutual consent and given the nuptial blessing ordered by the Holy Church, in presence of John Gero and Saint George, who have signed with me.

Father F. Prothais Boyer,
Missionary Recollect.
Sainton.
Nicole Daucene.[41]

From 1720 to December 8, 1722, the names of the following priests occur in this oldest available register: Father Matthew of St. Anne, Father Charles and Father Charles Joseph, all Discalced Carmelites; Father Le Breton, Father Richard, Father Le Monier, Father Darquevana, Father Morez (resembles Borez sometimes), Father Maximin, Discalced Carmelite, Curé of Natchez. After each of these names appears simply *pretre* or *missionaire.* The entries are never according to a printed formula, but rather composed by the individual missionary, hence some are longer than others. With the exception of Father Matthew of St. Anne, Father Maximin and Father Charles, who was missionary to the Apalaches, these men seem to be buried in absolute oblivion.[42]

[41] Registre des Marriages, 1720-1730, p. 1.

[42] Between 1718 and 1720, there was no dearth of priests in Louisiana. Besides the names appearing in the Cathedral Records at New Orleans, the Company sent the following: Nov. 21, 1718, the Irish priest, Fr. Bonaventure O'Donoghue, with a salary of 400 livres; Paris Arch. Col., B 42 bis., f. 265; June 20, 1719, Fr. Rene François Guerin; *Ibid.*, f. 299; Aug. 13, 1720, Fr. Le Turbil; *Ibid.*, C 464; Ottawa Arch., F 217, f. 107. By the Treaty of 1717, all *concessionnaires* were obliged to maintain a priest on their concessions. In 1720, the following priests went to the colony as chaplains: Fr. Du Hal of St. Malo, for the concession of Messieurs Devecher and Coethagon; Fr. Juif, for the concession of M. de la Tour. *Ibid.*, C 464. On May 28, 1720, Fr. Antonio Oudeardo, Minor Conventual, departing as chaplain for Louisiana, requested a patent as

By 1721, a number of private citizens had constructed huts in the new capital, but the Company's store remained the only public building. On April 25, 1721, Bienville and De Lorme reported that:

> All the concession holders are agitating to obtain provisions, or rather, all have petitioned for a little plot of six acres' frontage to go with each concession near New Orleans. They have sent thither part of their people and their goods, so as to start sowing and to profit by the next crop.[43]

All who obtained a plot of ground were bound to inclose it with palisades and surround it with a gutter three inches wide and to dig a ditch outside the gutter to serve as a drain in time of inundation. The census of November 24, 1721, says there were in New Orleans one hundred and forty-five men, sixty-five women, thirty-eight children, twenty-nine white servants, one hundred and seventy-two Negroes and twenty-one Indian slaves, totaling four hundred and seventy inhabitants, two hundred and seventy-seven of whom were Europeans. Thirty-six head of horned cattle and nine horses complete the census.[44]

With the organization of the Company and the extravagant advertising of John Law, new impetus was given for immigration and most of the posts where settlements had been projected were increasing in population. The Company now divided Louisiana into nine districts, namely, New Orleans, Mobile, Biloxi, Alibamons, Natchez, Yazoo, Natchitoches, Arkansas and Illinois. Trade in tar and furs, maize, millet, beans, potatoes, melons, gourds, rice and tobacco was carried on among the settlers and also with the Spanish of Pensacola.[45]

Thus the country, explored by the Spaniards and colonized by the French, bade fair to prosper. The settlement now counted more than twenty years of perseverance amid disappointment and dis-

missionary. Prop. Arch., *Scritture riferite, America Centrale*, I, f. 99. Fr. Le Maire who had come to the colony in its early days, was still there in 1720. *Rapport sur les Archives Canadiennes* 1883, p. 148.

[43] *Quarterly* (L. H.), III, p. 228.

[44] *Ibid.*

[45] Hamilton, *Op. cit.*, p. 106.

couragement that baffle description. Throughout that period not only had provision been made for its material welfare, but for its religious needs as well. Religion, however, was at a low ebb, for the people seemed to profit little by its wholesome teachings. Not without good reason, then, did the Company in 1722 make new overtures to increase the missionary personnel.

CHAPTER II

Coming of the Capuchin Missionaries, 1722

When the Bishop of Quebec was apprised of the sad plight of religion in Louisiana, he issued a stirring pastoral on July 9, 1721, deploring especially the disregard for religion and purity in which the colonists lived. With the hope of correcting the evil he urged all who had the care of souls to apply drastic means to suppress vice and irreligion and to refuse the sacraments to public sinners until public penance be performed.[1] Perhaps it was this trenchant appeal of the disheartened Bishop that moved the Directors of the Company to negotiate with Bishop de Mornay, Coadjutor to the Bishop of Quebec and Vicar-General for the Louisiana Mission.[2] It is stated by Shea [3] that in 1717 the Company had applied to Bishop de Mornay for missionaries for Louisiana and the latter offered the field to the French Capuchins of Champagne. But the Province of Champagne was small and sterile in numbers so that the Provincial could spare no men for this far-away mission. If it be true that the Capuchins refused the mission at so early a date, then we have the plausible reason for the Company's appeal to the Carmelites in 1720.

Be this as it may, on April 13, 1722, we find the Capuchin Pro-

[1] Shea, John Gilmary, *The Catholic Church in Colonial Days*, pp. 560-561, New York, 1886.

[2] Mgr. Louis François Duplessis de Mornay was a Capuchin born at Vannes in Bretagne. In 1713, he was appointed Coadjutor to Bishop Saint Vallier of Quebec, the Papal Bull having been issued by Clement IX in March of the same year. On April 22, 1714, de Mornay was consecrated Bishop of Eumenia in Phrygia and Coadjutor of Quebec by Cardinal de Rohan in the Capuchin Church of St. Honore, Paris. Bishop de Mornay never came to America, though at the death of Bishop Saint Vallier in 1729, he succeeded to the See of Quebec. Throughout all the years of his episcopacy de Mornay ruled his vast diocese from France. On September 12, 1733, he resigned his see and lived in retirement till 1741 when he died on November 28, at the age of seventy-eight. Tanguay, Cyprien, *Repertoire General du Clerge Canadien*, p. 6, Montreal, 1893.

[3] *Op. cit.*, p. 564.

vincial of Champagne appealing to Propaganda for a Prefecture in Louisiana. The request is made through the Procurator General of the Order and represents that the French King himself has requested Capuchins for Louisiana.

> The Procurator General of the Capuchins on the part of Father Nicholas of Chaumont, Provincial of the Province of Champagne in France, sets forth that the Most Christian King, with the advice of the Duke Regent, has asked him for French Capuchins who shall be sent to the Island of Louisiana, commonly called Misisipy in America, to spread there the holy faith and to administer the sacraments to those Catholics who are there. He begs, therefore, Your Eminence to deign to declare himself and his successors, the Provincials pro tempore, as Prefects of said mission of Louisiana, and all religious who are sent there by them as Apostolic Missionaries, in the same form as is done regarding the Provincials of the four other Provinces of France, and with the same faculties and privileges which are granted to them.[4]

The Secretary of the Propaganda also reminded their Eminences of the Carmelite Prefecture which had been established in Louisiana in 1720. But before committing themselves, the Cardinals ordered that the Nuncio at Paris be first consulted. This was done, and the Nuncio refused the request of the Capuchin Provincial on the ground that "there are enough missionaries on the spot." [5]

On May 16, 1722, the Commissioners of the Council with the consent of the Bishop of Quebec divided the Province of Louisiana into three ecclesiastical jurisdictions. The first comprised all the district to the west of the Mississippi from the Gulf of Mexico to the point of entry of the Ohio River. The churches and missions of this district were to be in charge of the Capuchins, whose superior was to reside in New Orleans and be Vicar-General of the Bishop of Quebec. The second district was that extending over all the country above the Ohio River. It was given to the Jesuits and their superior officer residing in Illinois was to be Vicar-General of the Bishop of Quebec in this district. The third district included all that territory to the east of the Mississippi, and it was assigned

[4] Prop. Arch., *Atti*, 1722, f. 138, No. 25.
[5] *Ibid.*, ff. 410-411, No. 31.

to the Carmelites, whose superior was to reside at Mobile and be Vicar-General of the Bishop in that territory.[6]

This is the first ecclesiastical partition of the Mississippi Valley. As we know, the Jesuits and Carmelites had already settled in their respective districts. But the document of partition had hardly appeared when the French Government objected to the Carmelite Mission of Mobile. Nor are we at a loss for the reason. Against the wish of the government, the Carmelites had obtained a Bull of Prefecture from Rome in 1720. This was not acknowledged in France. Bishop Saint Vallier, while he launched no formal objection against the Carmelites, nevertheless, seems to have stood by the government. Abbé Raguet, the Ecclesiastical Director of the Company of the West,[7] says in his Memoir: "The Carmelites were at Mobile, but the Bishop of Quebec, little satisfied with their management, united their jurisdiction to that of the Capuchins by Ordinance of December 19, 1722, and they returned to France."[8] In 1723, all the Carmelites except Father Maximin returned to France. Bishop de Mornay, however, seems to have been in full accord with the government and to have even taken steps for the removal of the Carmelites, for in his letter of December 8, 1726, to Abbé Raguet he says:

> You do not ignore what I have done to have the Carmelites recalled who had gone there [Louisiana] and of their own accord obtained a Brief of Vicar Apostolic, which, as you know, we do not acknowledge in France. I wrote to the officers of the Company and to the Bishop of Quebec concerning this matter only after it was over.[9]

Here we cannot fail to notice the Gallican views of Bishop de

[6] Paris Arch. Col., C13A10, f. 296.

[7] Gilles Bernard Raguet, a learned Belgian born at Namur in 1668, died at Paris, June 20, 1748. Studied in Paris, joined the Sulpicians and became Ecclesiastical Director of the Company. Cf. Rochemonteix, Camille de, S. J., *Les Jesuites et la Nouvelle-France au XVIIIe Siècle*, I, p. 274, note 2, Paris, 1906.

[8] Paris Arch. Col., C13A10, f. 296.

[9] Paris Arch. Col., C13A10, ff. 35-36. Bishop de Mornay, referring to a Brief of Vicar Apostolic, must have in mind Father Matthew of St. Anne who signed as such.

Mornay. In this period especially, Gallicanism was rampant in France, where all Papal appointments had to be ratified by the government to give them legal value. The Carmelites, in going directly to Rome for their Brief, either ignored the undue claims of Gallicanism, or perhaps they deemed it sufficient that the French Company of the Indies, a government agency, had called them. Bishop de Mornay, however, pressed his Gallican claims to the limit and had the Carmelites finally recalled. From now on our attention must be centered chiefly on the Capuchins.

On May 16, 1722, the Company issued a most important Decree which placed the Capuchins of Champagne in ecclesiastical possession of Louisiana. This document, so far as we have ascertained after diligent research, has never been printed and therefore is worth more than a passing reference. After citing the Decree of the King dated April 15, 1721, to justify their action, the Commissaries of the Council continue:

> His Majesty, having granted by Letters Patent of August 1717, the colony of Louisiana to the Company of the West, now Company of the Indies, on condition that the said Company build churches at its own expense in the places where it forms settlements and maintain there the necessary number of ecclesiastics to work for the salvation of the inhabitants, French, Indian and Negro, and having also accorded to the Company the right of patronage and the faculty to name the pastors and other ecclesiastics as shall be suitable to establish within the colony, We are informed that hitherto the Company has not taken the proper measures to fulfil that which in this matter is the intention of His Majesty; and it being necessary to make provisions to this end, We have believed that, to establish religion solidly in the colony and to work there successfully for the glory of God, We cannot make a better choice than the Capuchin Fathers of the Province of Champagne, who have shown so much zeal for that mission that We cannot doubt that they will acquit themselves most worthily and will furnish the necessary number of religious. Wherefore, We have agreed upon and have accepted Father Bruno of Langres, Father Christopher of Chaumont, Father Philibert of Viander and Brother Eusebius of Chaumont, to establish under the authority of the Bishop of Quebec a convent of their order at New Orleans, situated on the St. Louis River [Mississippi] in the land of Louisiana, to perform through the superior of the convent the pastoral functions in the town; to send to all the Company's settlements, extending from the mouth of the river

unto and comprising the bank of the Wabash [Ohio], religious who shall be demanded from him by the Council of the colony; to conduct there the divine service and to administer the sacraments in the capacity of pastors and according to the faculties given him by the Bishop of Quebec; to have jurisdiction over the other ecclesiastics who shall be in the parts established along the river or its affluents and, in general, to do through the superior of the convent all that he shall judge necessary for the good and the advancement of the Roman, Catholic and Apostolic Religion, and for the salvation of souls. We order the commanders and the directors of the colony to install the Capuchin Fathers as explained above, to aid and protect them with all their power in the exercise of their functions both as regards their rule and their Apostolic and parochial ministry. We order, therefore, that there be constructed in New Orleans at the expense of the Company a parish church of convenient size, with an adjoining house for four religious, in order to put the Capuchins in possession there; that they be given in the same place sufficient ground for a garden and poultry yard, and that in whatever place of the colony they may be established, the Company shall furnish them lodging and all that shall be necessary for divine service.

We also order that for their maintenance, they be provided by the Company with the necessary clothing according to their Rule, and for their sustenance, namely, for each religious, one cask of Bordeaux wine, two quarts of flour, one half quart of bacon, one half quart of beef, one half quart (ancre) of brandy, twenty-five pounds of large beans, or like quantity of peas and kidney beans, eight pounds of Holland or *Gruyere* cheese, twenty-four pounds of candles, one half pound of pepper, twenty pots of vinegar, twenty-five pounds of salt and twelve pounds of olive oil.

We also expect that they be provided from the magazines of the Company with household utensils and with whatever tools may be necessary for their houses, on condition that all they shall receive in this way from the Company shall be held only for use, and that they shall not cultivate more land than is required for the needs of their houses in the colony. We finally enjoin the Directors of the colony to keep and send annually to the Company a particular account of that which shall be furnished the Capuchin Fathers, in which account shall be noted the value of the furniture in money at the rate of its worth in the market of the country.

Given at Paris, May 16, 1722, *Signed:* Jagon de Mauhault, Ougran, Fontaineu.[10]

[10] Paris Arch. Col., B 43, ff. 108-111.

The significance of this document cannot be overestimated. It is the credentials of the Capuchins for their position in Louisiana and the basis for full civil and ecclesiastical rights. The King himself is their patron, the Company their servant in the great work of building up the Church in that vast tract to the west of the Mississippi stretching from the Gulf in the South to the Ohio in the North. The trust placed in the Capuchins was only worthy of a religious order with missionary traditions so renowned as those of the Capuchins. But this was only the first favor of the Company. Since the Bishop of Quebec had withdrawn the Carmelites from Mobile, the Directors of the Company were obliged to make a new disposal of that district. Accordingly, on December 19, 1722, they drew up another Decree bestowing on the Capuchins the Carmelite district of Mobile. The new Decree of December 19 is the same in tone as that of May 16 which it approves, saying:

> Having provided by our Decree of May 16 last, for the establishment of the Capuchin Fathers of the Province of Champagne, both in New Orleans and in all other places occupied by the Company of the Indies, from the mouth of the St. Louis [Mississippi] River in the ascent to and comprising the Wabash [Ohio] River, so that, under the authority of the Bishop of Quebec, they may conduct divine service and administer the sacraments as pastors, and since it is necessary to render the same service in other places of Louisiana, We have judged it proper to establish the Capuchin Fathers in the posts along the coast of Louisiana and on the rivers that flow to the sea. In consequence whereof, the Company shall furnish them in Mobile a parish church with a house to lodge three or four religious, together with ground necessary for a garden, in order to put the Capuchins in possession, on condition that they perform the pastoral functions and supply through the superior of their order in Louisiana the religious demanded by the Council of the colony, so that they may perform the same functions in the other posts occupied by the French, from the sea to and comprising the Wabash River.[11]

The Directors are then commanded to register and execute these Presents without delay. As a result of this Decree, both the Bishop of Quebec and the Company of the Indies now acknowledge just

[11] Paris Arch. Col., F5A3, f. 169.

two distinct ecclesiastical jurisdictions in the Mississippi Valley, the first comprising the territory of the Capuchins and Carmelites combined; the second, that of the Illinois, in charge of the Jesuits. In view of later developments, it is well to emphasize here that these two districts are distinct and the superior of each order, under the authority of the Bishop of Quebec, is supreme in his own field.[12] The Jesuits had been long in possession of their district, while the Capuchins came to theirs in 1722. The superior of the little group of friars was Father Bruno of Langres. His letter to the head of the Company before leaving France is the earliest source of information regarding the beginning of this Capuchin Mission. Dated at Nantes, March 5, 1722, it shows that the Capuchin Fathers had already begun their long voyage to America before the Decree of May 16, with its many privileges, had been issued in their favor. The perusal of this letter reveals an author truly humble in spirit, yet keenly alert for all that pertains to the welfare of his mission.

Sir,

We are extremely sorry to have left Paris without paying you our respects; the gentlemen with whom we treated never spoke to us about you. Apparently, Sir, it was by our order and not to withdraw you from your serious occupations. But we have not been less sensible of the fault which we have committed, when we recognized it at New Orleans, where Monsieur de Madier informed us that you were the head of the Company of the Indies, for whose service we are going to Louisiana, and it is to repair this fault that I do myself the honor to write to you in the name of our Rev. Fathers, missionaries, to make our apologies, to assure you of our duty and of our prayers for you to our Lord.

We reached Nantes only on the third of March, because our boatmen were detained a long time in the public offices. On arriving, we found Mr. Fourtat laid up with gout, but his wife, who is a woman of ability, accustomed to business, has labored so attentively to expedite matters for us that we have found everything according to our wish, according to the statement we have forwarded. If the agents who have charge of the

[12] The statement of Miss Points in the *Catholic Encyclopedia*, XI, p. 6, that in 1722, the Jesuits were permitted to establish missions in all parts of Louisiana with a residence at New Orleans, but were not to exercise any functions without the consent of the Capuchins, is incorrect. That concession was made them only in 1726.

rest are as punctual or as charitable, we shall have reason to be well satisfied. Recollect, if you please, Sir, that we have not yet the King's Patent for our establishment in Louisiana, and that we need it in duplicate, one for the Rev. Father Provincial, to be kept in the archives of the Province, and the other to serve as our authority in Louisiana. You will also oblige us, sir, if in the orders you give the Governor of that country to receive us, you beg him to supply some little necessaries which we shall undoubtedly need in those new establishments, which are trifles, such as kitchen cranes, bedsteads, paper, tables, chairs and some other small articles of furniture of that nature, of little consequence, and yet very useful.

Excuse me for dwelling so long on such trifles; the situation in which we are placed seems to require it.

Our Rev. Fathers, missionaries, present you their homage, wishing you the blessings of heaven, and I, who am more particularly with a very profound respect,

Your very humble and very obedient servant,

F. Bruno de Langres,
Capuchin, Superior of the Louisiana Mission.[13]

Aside from this letter we hear nothing more of Father Bruno until December 8, 1722, when he officiated at a marriage in New Orleans. This is his first entry in the Register and he signs himself *Bruno de Langre, Capucin et Curé de Nouvelle-Orleans.* In the spring of 1723, Father Raphael of Luxemburg arrived as the new Superior and Vicar-General of the Bishop of Quebec. Father Bruno still remained in the mission, though in what capacity is not clear. On July 7, 1725, Bishop Saint Vallier, replying to letters written to him by Fathers Bruno and Raphael in 1723, says to Father Raphael:

Our Dear Father and Brother in Our Lord,

I have received with great joy and satisfaction the letter which you have written to me from New Orleans, as well as that of Father Bruno of Langres. [On the margin is written: *P. Bruno, Capuchin, Predecessor of P. Raphael.*] Owing to the great distance of places, it is difficult to take measures which are so suitable as to keep one from making mistakes. When I sent from here my letters of the Vicar-Generalship, I had not received the letter of the Bishop Coadjutor of Quebec. Since

[13] *Magazine* (USCH), II, pp. 295-296.

> you and Father Bruno live in such great harmony and uniformity of sentiments, as appears from the two letters which I have received, I believe that the multiplication of powers [faculties] which I have sent you will not do any harm, but will rather benefit the salvation of souls, because Father Bruno of Langres will not do anything without your consent and authority, for which I praise him highly.[14]

After May 3, 1723, the name of Father Bruno occurs no more in the Registers at New Orleans. Whether he died shortly after this date or was recalled to France by his Father Provincial is not known. In his letter of May 18, 1726, Father Raphael speaks of two Capuchins having died in Louisiana before the arrival of others to take their place. It is not improbable that one of them was Father Bruno.[15]

On September 7, 1723, Father Raphael wrote a long letter to Abbé Raguet, the ecclesiastical Director of the Company. The picture he drew of the early days was anything but encouraging. When he arrived in New Orleans to assume the office of Vicar-General he could hardly find a room to shelter himself and his brethren, much less a chapel for worship. Although the orders of the Company were clear and imperative, nevertheless, no efforts were made to better conditions for the missionaries. For six months they had at New Orleans only a small room, which served as chapel and kitchen, another to lodge four religious, and a third to store provisions and effects. Father Raphael continues:

> It will be difficult for us to remain long in this state, our ministry becoming almost useless for want of a church in which we can assemble the people to instruct them, without which we cannot hope for any fruit of our mission. Almost all the inhabitants live in the most scandalous conditions, and in such a profound ignorance of the truths of our holy religion, that they may be said to be ignorant even of the first elements. No Easter Communion, no attendance at divince service, although we do all we can to attract them, both in public and in private. Those who wish to keep up a show of religion, content themselves with a low Mass on Sundays and holy days and carefully avoid any where there is a word of preaching. The

[14] Paris Arch. Col., C13A8, f. 421.

[15] *Ibid.*, C13A10, f. 44. Father Raphael to Abbé Raguet.

example of those who are at the head of the colony encourages this disorder. They ask us for a low Mass after the high Mass, which they attend, followed by a part of the people who have retained some religious principles, the parochial Mass being so neglected that generally scarcely thirty or forty persons are found there. A better example on the part of the authorities could not but produce a good effect.[16]

The good Father was also forced to lament the lack of provisions for livelihood. The sacred ministry afforded little or no income and that little chiefly at New Orleans, where a few offerings for Masses were now and then forthcoming. In time of illness the friars had not the wherewithal to buy a few eggs. In general, the scanty rations of the missionaries did not accord with the fatigue they endured in visiting the sick by day and night, generally in mud knee-deep. With the small fees for Masses the friars at New Orleans were enabled to pay in copper money for a few bottles of wine and a quantity of flour, but this was out of special consideration to them and not possible to the missionaries at the posts where there were no other resources but the allowance they received from the Company:

I beg you to consider, Sir, that our case is not like that of the missionaries who preceded us. These often had three times as much as we have, and when they were reduced to . . . [600][17] livres' allowance yearly, they found also means of subsistence by the traffic they carried on; they obtained from the storehouses goods which they then sold at threefold and fourfold; which gave them means to visit these same storehouses, where nothing was refused them for copper money, three and four times the amount of goods which they had obtained for their original sum. We are not capable of such peddling which we regard as ruinous to the colony. Hence, it seems to me just that we should be assisted from some other quarter.

You will have the goodness, Sir, to remember that at Paris you promised us two cows and a bull. If you will kindly give orders that these cattle be delivered to us, we shall be deeply obliged to you, for a little milk with our bit of pork and the rice that we can find here will render our life less hard.

[16] *Magazine* (USCH), II, pp. 297 ff.

[17] Cf. Letter of Fr. Raphael, May 18, 1726, pp. 49-50.

Finally, the intrepid missionary, forgetting personal needs, appeals for the benefit of the colony:

> Although it is foreign to my ministry to mingle in affairs, I nevertheless think that I shall not overstep the bounds which I draw for myself in this respect by informing you, Sir, that it is very necessary that some water-mills be erected in places adapted for them, or windmills where proper streams are wanting. Such mills will dispense with half the French flour sent over, and will prevent the frequent bread famines which now happen, for the common people will be content with rice or Indian corn bread, and many even of those better off will be glad to mix half French flour or half rice or Indian corn meal, which makes very good bread. Bread of this kind is made by pounding the rice or Indian corn in a mortar, which is very laborious and repulsive work, because it takes a person a whole day to crack enough for one or at most two days. Moreover, the laborer loses a considerable time at this task, when he could be more usefully employed in the Company's establishment, and as the sick cannot be employed, they are left without food or provisions.[18]

The complaint of Father Raphael on behalf of his brethren was not altogether fruitless. On February 16, 1724, the Administration met and decided that each Capuchin be given the choice of either taking an annual salary of six hundred livres, or of abiding by the original contract which prescribed payment in produce.[19] The Capuchins chose the yearly salary, as we learn from the financial report of 1725, which credits each missionary with six hundred livres.[20]

In December, 1723, a change was made in the division of the Mission. Quite unexpected on the part of the Capuchins, the Company drew up a Decree that fixed the boundary of their Mission at Natchez instead of at the Ohio River. The upper section between Natchez and the Ohio comprising the Tamarois Mission of Fathers Tamur and Le Mercier, both Seminary Priests from Quebec, was added to the Illinois Mission of the Jesuits. Father d'Avaugour,

[18] *Ibid.*, pp. 299-300.

[19] Paris Arch. Col., C13A11, f. 217.

[20] *Ibid.*, C13A10, ff. 72-74. The Capuchin salary amounted to $133.35 in those days.

Procurator for the Jesuit missions in America, had been kept *au courant* by Abbé Raguet at Paris regarding the division, and accepted the new field in the name of his Provincial, Father Richebourg. With the latter the Company had stipulated that each Jesuit departing for Louisiana should receive three hundred livres to defray the expenses of the voyage and a yearly salary of six hundred livres, three hundred of which should be advanced immediately and later deducted. Moreover, as in the case of the Capuchins, the Company bound itself to build churches and rectories, equipping them with vestments and all other necessary furniture. The jurisdiction of the Jesuits was now as follows: Kaskaskias, Fort Chartres, the Yazoos, the Arkansas, the Wabash, the Illinois and the Missouris.[21]

Without delay the Jesuit Procurator informed Father Nicholas Ignatius de Beaubois, Superior and Vicar-General of the Illinois, that in future his jurisdiction would extend from the Illinois River to the post of Natchez. He announced by the same courier that the mission of the Illinois would henceforth be called the *Mission of Louisiana,* and that it should be no longer connected with that of the Outaouais nor depend on the Superior of Michilimakinac, but that it was an independent mission of which Father de Beaubois was appointed the first superior.[22]

The reasons given for this change in jurisdiction vary. Rochemonteix interprets the Company's action as a compensation to the Jesuits for their being excluded from New Orleans, which he holds was more uncharitable than justified. The blame for this exclusion of his brethren is placed on Bishop de Mornay, who sought the best for the Capuchin Order.[23] On the other hand, Abbé Raguet in his *Memoir of the Church in Louisiana, 1722-1728,* says: "the Company, judging that the Capuchins would not be able to furnish enough clergymen to supply all the cures and missions in a region so vast as that which had been given to them, fixed the boundary of their jurisdiction at Natchez."[24] The Capuchins had been tardy not only in taking over the Louisiana Mission, but also in sending

[21] Paris Arch. Col., C13A11, f. 219.

[22] Rochemonteix, P. Camille de, S. J., *Les Jesuites et la Nouvelle-France au XVIIIe Siècle,* I, p. 280, Paris, 1906.

[23] Richemonteix, *Op. cit.,* p. 277. [24] Paris Arch. Col., C13A10, f. 296.

the quota of missionaries promised. However, the missionaries in Louisiana bitterly resented the new arrangement and their Superior, Father Raphael, appealed immediately to the Bishop of Quebec. The following from the Bishop's letter of July 7, 1725, shows that in regard to the new partition of the Mission he had been neither consulted beforehand nor informed after the division had been made:

> Since I have hitherto heard nothing regarding the establishment of the Society of Jesus in other places besides that of Kaskaskias where there are also priests of the Foreign Missions, I cannot tell you anything about the matter. Their entire work being among the savages, I do not think they will meddle in the affairs of the French. However, I shall take pains to be informed by Bishop de Mornay what this is all about, and to hear from the Lords of the Company of the Indies, which are the Indian missions which they intend to give to the Jesuits with the approval of my Coadjutor, to whom I have left the care of the missions of this vast country on account of the distance from where I am. . . .
>
> To obviate the evil which might arise on account of the establishment of the Jesuits in parts of Louisiana which you do not specify and of which the Superiors of the Jesuits here just as I, know nothing, I will tell you that the best way to keep peace with them when they finally arrive, is, not to oppose them in their manner of leading their flock, but to regard them as independent of your jurisdiction in their districts as do the Priests of the Foreign Missions and those of the Society of Jesus who work near each other among the Illinois, Kaskaskias and at Fort Chartres. This is the best way to enable you to live together in perfect harmony. . . .
>
> I find it exceedingly important that they [the Company] have accorded you Letters Patent for a sure and perfect establishment in Louisiana, so that I cannot omit writing to the Court and urging the Councillors of the Company of the Indies to build you churches, especially at New Orleans, where a larger one is needed.
>
> Lest my letter be too long, I shall close giving you whatsoever blessing you may desire for yourself and your confreres. May God fill you with such an abundance and plenitude of spirit and grace as will enable you to enrich others.
>
> Nobody can be with greater esteem and affection,
>
> *Yours entirely in His holy love,*
>
> John, *Bishop of Quebec.*[25]

[25] Paris Arch. Col., C13A8, f. 421r-421v.

It is, indeed, significant that two years were allowed to pass before Bishop Saint Vallier became aware of the change made in the jurisdiction of the Capuchins. This illustrates again the independence of the French Government in ecclesiastical matters. On October 8, 1723, it had been resolved in the meeting of the Administration to "write to the Bishop of Quebec and petition him to restrict the jurisdiction of the Capuchins along the river upwards to and including the post of Natchez and to let start from there and include the Yazoos the jurisdiction of the Jesuits which comprises the whole of the upper river." [26] Nevertheless, neither Bishop de Mornay nor the Company informed the Bishop of Quebec of this decision. Probably Bishop de Mornay disapproved of the change and when overruled by the Company expected the latter to inform the Ordinary at Quebec. Incidentally we are made to realize the unsatisfactory provisions made for governing the Church in Louisiana. Bishop Saint Vallier frankly admitted his inability to rule the Church in that territory because of its distance from Quebec, nevertheless he consistently opposed the erection of independent Prefectures which in all probability would have succeeded where he failed. Instead, he preferred to commit everything to the supervision of a Coadjutor who chose to rule the Mission from France.

Much as Bishop Saint Vallier was interested in the affairs of the Louisiana Church, still he permitted three months to pass before writing to the Company as he had promised Father Raphael. Only on October 15, 1723, he wrote to the Commissaries deploring above all the low standard of morality still prevailing in the colony:

> *Sirs,*
>
> Although I am very far from that part of my diocese which is known as Louisiana and which you govern, and although I find difficulty in receiving news from there as often as I should wish, nevertheless, being charged by God with the care of it, I have not forsaken it, though what I learn about it is sufficient to depress me. In regard to the illicit marriages contracted there by persons who have been already married in France; the public concubinages which those in authority tolerate whereas they should stop them, nay, even consider them necessary to people the country (an error against religion and

[26] *Ibid.*, C13A11, f. 217.

sound politics since hardly any children issue from such illegitimate unions and those which do, become bad subjects), I should be very much beholden to you if you would support by your protection and authority those of our missionaries in that country who combat these and similar disorders. As I have been assured, it will be necessary to urge the magistrates whom you have established in that country to hold the reins tight, especially the Procurator General, who as I am informed, seems to be too easy. You will render a great service to religion by signifying to them by your letters that you are aware of these things and that you want them stopped.

If it is true, as I have been told, that in the new arrangement you have made regarding the missions, you have destined some of the lower Mississippi to be served by the Fathers of the Society of Jesus, I cannot but thank you for the good choice you have made of men whose zeal may diminish and stamp out, perhaps all disorders prevailing in those missions.

In regard to the Capuchins which you have established in the center of Louisiana at New Orleans, only good is heard of them. Since they will experience great trouble in establishing the spirit of religion in hearts so badly disposed, they will need to be supported, protected and established on a sufficiently firm basis so that their community need not fear being destroyed. This can be done only by means of Royal Letters Patent, which you could procure for them with great advantage. This is the favor which I ask of you for them, since they are good religious who have been won over with difficulty by Monsignor de Mornay, Coadjutor of Quebec, and you have reasons to be satisfied with the great courage with which they have gone into that country. I hope you will not refuse me this first favor I ask of you for them and that other [favor] for myself, to believe me with all consideration and respect

Sirs,

Your most humble and obedient servant,

John, *Bishop of Quebec.*[27]

There can be no doubt of the Bishop's kindly feeling toward the Capuchins. His interest in them is genuine, as is plain from his heartfelt appeal for Royal Letters Patent which would ensure their position in the Mission. Of course, the new arrangement whereby the Jesuits received the additional territory from the Natchez to the Ohio is accepted by the Bishop as if he had nothing to say in

[27] *Ibid.*, C13A8, fol. 422-423.

the matter. This attitude was logical on his part since he had committed Louisiana to the care of Bishop de Mornay, his Coadjutor. So far as we are able to judge from the correspondence, Bishop de Mornay had a free hand in administering the affairs of the Louisiana Church, Bishop Saint Vallier demanding merely to be informed of his proceedings.

On June 27, 1725, the fears of the Capuchins were somewhat allayed when the Company published another Decree which guaranteed them the remaining portion of their original Mission. By this Decree the Company bound itself to send no other religious or priests into the Capuchin territory without first obtaining their consent. The reason given for reducing their Mission to the Natchez was the fewness of missionaries for so vast a field.

> The Company, having recognized the establishment of the Capuchin Fathers, so conducive to the glory of God and the salvation of the people, has considered nothing to be of greater importance than that they be placed in a position to work there with all the success to be expected of their zeal, which they cannot do unless the territory entrusted to their spiritual care be reduced to less extensive limits and better proportioned to the number of religious who shall be employed there. Wherefore, the Company, by virtue of the Letters Patent of His Majesty of August, 1717, has declared it decided that those parishes and missions which are and shall hereafter be established in entire Louisiana from the coast upward to the River of St. Louis [Mississippi] including Natchez and as well as along all the rivers that empty into the said river below Natchez and all the rivers that flow into the sea, shall be filled under the authority of the Bishop of Quebec or under that of his Coadjutor, by the Capuchin Fathers of the Province of Champagne, *without whose consent no other religious or priests shall be sent or established there,* on condition that they supply all the priests necessary for the parishes or missions which it shall be judged proper to establish in that region.[28]

The Decree continues with the reiteration of all the privileges granted the Capuchins by the Decrees of May 16 and December 19, 1722. It commands the authorities to put them in possession of all churches, chapels and presbyteries in their district. Where churches or rectories are needed they should be built without delay. The

[28] *Ibid.*, A23, f. 60-61.

Capuchin houses are to be surrounded by gardens so that they may live in so far as possible according to their Rule and custom. Undoubtedly, the most remarkable concession to the Capuchins is that without their consent *no other religious or priests shall be sent or established* in their territory. Hard upon this important Decree followed the Royal Letters Patent of King Louis XV. The Company seems to have acted promptly on the advice of Bishop Saint Vallier to obtain for the Capuchins a royal approval which would be the highest guarantee for their position. The Royal Decree follows:

> Today the fifteenth day of July 1725, the King being at Chantilly, has had represented to His Majesty on behalf of the Capuchin Fathers of the Province of Champagne, established in Louisiana by virtue of the Decree dated May 16 and December 19, 1722, of the Commissaries of the Council deputed by His Majesty for the regulation of the affairs of the Company of the Indies, that the same Capuchin Fathers devote themselves under the authority of the Bishop of Quebec so wholeheartedly to the conversion of the souls of the savages, that they are not less famed for their knowledge of God and the maxims of the Holy Gospel than for their exact fulfilling of the parochial functions with which they have been charged, and that they also apply themselves diligently by word and example to induce all Christians to observe the duties of the Catholic Apostolic and Roman Religion, they now hope from the clemency of His Majesty the same protection which he awards to all who undertake such pious work. Hence they most humbly ask His Majesty, as a token that their Mission is acceptable to Him, to deign to approve their establishment in Louisiana. Attending to this and desirous of contributing to the increase of God's glory, His Majesty has approved the conditions prescribed by the Company of the Indies for their establishment in Louisiana. It is therefore the intention of His Majesty that they enjoy without disturbance all that which has been and shall be accorded them by the said Company according to the agreement made or promised to be made. Hence His Majesty has taken them under His protection and safeguard, and in expression of his will, has commanded to be expedited this Diploma which he has signed with his own hand.
>
> Louis.[29]

[29] *Ibid.*, A23, f. 63. Also *Bullarium Ordinis FF. Minorum S. P. Francisci Capucinorum* VII, p. 329, Rome, 1752.

The approval of the King of France could not but fill the Capuchins with a sense of absolute security in their Louisiana Mission. To the Decrees of the Company of the Indies which was supreme in Louisiana, the King had by special act set his seal. With zeal born of such security they could now set out to conquer and win souls to Christ.

CHAPTER III

Spread of Capuchin Missions, 1722-1766

We have learned in the foregoing chapter how the Capuchins of Champagne were established in Louisiana. The headquarters of their Mission was to be New Orleans, the flourishing capital, whence they should go forth to the other French posts which had been, or which should later be established. In 1726, Father Raphael of Luxemburg, Superior and Vicar-General, made a visitation to the various stations then in the care of the Capuchins. His impressions, noted down carefully on the spot and presented to the Company, form the earliest succinct report of the places attended by the Capuchins of those days. We shall now study the development of these missions in the light of this and other surviving documents hitherto unpublished.

New Orleans

The first Capuchins who came to New Orleans encountered many difficulties on their arrival. Their congregations were poor and scattered over an extensive area and there was almost total absence of practical religion. The skepticism and naturalism then undermining the French nation were transplanted into the colony with the influx of the settlers. After the terrible hurricane of 1722 had thrown down the temporary building used for worship, neither the Company nor the colonists made any decided effort to build a church. Indeed, Father Raphael could barely secure a room for that purpose owing to the indifference of the population to all that savored of religion. Sunday mornings saw scarcely thirty persons at Mass. Undaunted, the Capuchins toiled on, their brown habit becoming a familiar sight that brought the colonists sweet recollections of their mother country.[1] In 1728, the new church was completed. It was a frame building and was dedicated to St. Louis in honor of the patron of King Louis XV, then King of France.

[1] Chambon, C. M., *In and around the Old St. Louis Cathedral of New Orleans*, pp. 20-21, New Orleans, 1908.

On April 3, 1728, the Abbé Raguet wrote to Monsieur de la Chaise, the Commissary: "I am very much pleased that the new church is in the condition you described. I trust the Company will grant the means to decorate it." [2] Thus, after years of patient waiting amidst hardship and trial, the Capuchins could at last rejoice in the possession of a church destined to become the center of colonial life in Louisiana.

> When New Orleans completed its first decade of existence, the Saint Louis Parish Church was the only redeeming feature of the city. Although it was comparatively a small and poorly decorated church, its spire towered over the other buildings with somewhat of majesty. The Capuchins' residence stood at its left, the Guard House at its right. In front of its porch the *Place d'Armes* enfolded a square of green, through which two diagonal alleys led to the harbor. The homes of the colonial officials and commercial potentates were mostly situated on the water front or along Chartres Street. The *Place d'Armes* and its surroundings were then the fashionable quarters.[3]

When the church was nearing completion, Father Raphael informed the authorities that vestments were needed for conducting solemn service. At the same time he stressed the fact that the Fabrique [4] could not supply the need since the funds were barely sufficient to pay for light and heat and other pressing necessaries. He asked the Company for a contribution so that chasubles and dalmatics of different colors might be bought for solemn services, as also albs and altar linens which were needed at all the stations. Governor Perier admitted that the Fabrique could not bear the expense, but added that the funds were low "because nobody pays pew rent." [5]

From an old manuscript prepared sometime between 1751 and 1753, whose authorship is not distinctly named, we have a description of the church as it was in his day:

[2] Paris Arch. Col., C13A11, f. 231.

[3] Chambon, C. M., *Op. cit.*, p. 21.

[4] Administrators of the church funds. Cf. *Catholic Encyclopedia*, V. p. 744.

[5] Paris Arch. Col., C13A10, f. 181.

> The church is a frame building, neat enough when first built, twenty years ago; but now its foundations are giving way, and its space is insufficient for the increasing population, though in 1751 galleries have been built, which give considerably more room. A second bell has been added lately, cast on the spot. The edifice is in the form of a cross, much like the church of the Cape (Haytian) with a chapel and small altar on either side. The High Altar is in the Roman style, in wood, neatly carved. The house of two Capuchins, near by, is a fine two story brick building.[6]

Under the leadership of the Capuchins the parish at New Orleans developed and prospered. Between 1722 and 1724, nine Capuchins had gone to Louisiana, seven priests and two lay brothers, and the Provincial of Champagne wrote in the latter year that two more Fathers were ready to sail.[7] Usually three or four Fathers were employed in New Orleans to serve the parish church and the hospital. In 1750, the parish numbered six hundred families.[8] In 1765, the number of inhabitants was reckoned at four thousand.[9]

Natchez

About two hundred miles from New Orleans, or as the colonists reckoned, one hundred leagues up the river, was Fort Rosalie, more commonly called Natchez, after the Indians living there. This fort was established by Bienville in 1714, and consisted chiefly of quarters for the officers, barracks for the soldiers, magazines both for merchandise and ammunition, and army stores.[10] Several miles from the river bank dwelt the Indians in five villages. As the soil at Natchez was fertile, many Frenchmen, soldiers and workmen, after obtaining their discharge and buying land from the Indians, settled there. The present city of Natchez in the State of Mississippi is the outgrowth of this original fort and cannot fail to charm the tourist by its beautful and picturesque location. Situated on a high bluff, it presents a glorious panorama of the river and the

[6] *Records* (ACH), X, p. 203.

[7] Paris Arch. Col., C13A11, f. 217.

[8] *Bullarium Capucinorum*, VII, p. 329.

[9] Watrin, Philbert Francis, S. J., "Memoir on the Louisiana Missions," printed in *Researches* (ACHS), XVII, p. 89.

[10] Charlevoix, *Op. cit.*, p. 31.

surrounding country. Not without purpose did the Indians settle on this eminence, for it furnished them a vantage point to sight the French ascending the river. In the pioneer days the region was greatly varied by little hills and meadows, separated by small copses, the trees of which were walnut and oak. The country was naturally well watered; hops grew wild and all kinds of European fruits thrived. In 1770, the fences of many of the original gardens still remained, together with several fruit trees, especially fig, peach, and wild cherry. The French always esteemed the tobacco produced in the Natchez fields as preferable to that cultivated in other parts of America.[11]

In September, 1726, Father Raphael made his first visitation to Natchez. He was accompanied by Monsieur Prat, a physician and Councillor, who wished to study medicinal herbs in that district. The description which the Vicar-General gives us of the Natchez country tallies well with that of our later travellers. Today with modern train service the trip from New Orleans to Natchez is made in about eight hours, but in the days of the early missionaries the journey to Natchez meant a voyage of weeks in primitive pirogues up the rugged Mississippi. In those days farms were numerous on both banks of the river for the first ten miles above New Orleans, after that all was practically wilderness. This naturally made the voyage to Natchez a real hardship, especially in bad weather. Relating to the Abbé Raguet his first impressions of Natchez, Father Raphael says on December 28, 1726:

> The country of the Natchez is one of the most beautiful countries you can see. It is elevated and forms on its highest points numerous small hillocks with very pleasant meadows. It is watered by two small rivers, one of which is embraced by the concession of La Terre Blanche and the other by that of St. Catherine. The Indian village is situated on the first of these rivers. The French farmers are established on the hillocks, where everyone has his farm surrounding his house. There is a fort on the first eminence with a garrison of about thirty men, if one may call a fort a defense fenced in by half rotten pales which leave free access almost everywhere. They have a few cannons there which are very useless, because this so-

[11] Pittman, Philip, *The Present State of European Settlements on the Mississippi*, p. 78, London, 1770.

> called fort is located too far from the edge of the eminence and can, therefore, not command any of the approaches, and if it should be attacked, the enemy would be at the palisades before they could fire a shot. I think they intend to protect themselves better in future.[12]

The Visitator then gives a description of the religious conditions. There was no church there in 1727. At the foot of the eminence there was an old dilapidated house in which the missionary lived. In 1726, the river had undermined a part of the missionary's garden and menaced his house. In a small room of this threatened building Mass was said. The enviroment was, indeed, very unbecoming for such an august purpose, the room itself lacking flooring and windows, and could accommodate only about twenty of the well-nigh two hundred communicants.[13] Formerly Mass had been said in a more spacious building, but the commanding officer, of little faith no doubt, had ejected the missionary to lodge there himself. Indicative of the religious indifference of the authorities at Natchez was also the fact that they permitted a storekeeper to use the missionary's bake house for storage. After his visitation, Father Raphael demanded of Governor Perier that the bake house be restored to Father Philibert, the missionary, since he was forced to bake his bread with the neighbors. The demand was heard and restoration took place immediately.[14]

Another glance at the visitation notes of the Vicar-General reveals to us that near the fort was the cemetery, without fence and consequently exposed to profanation. Father Raphael had ordered the people to build a fence around the consecrated plot and meeting no response, decided to interdict the cemetery until his command should be obeyed. On hearing of this, the people approached him with the plea that on the one hand, they were poor, and on the other, the fencing of the cemetery was the duty of the Company. Moreover, since the church would not be built near the priesthouse or cemetery because of the menacing floods, they urged the Vicar-General to postpone the building of the fence until the church would be built, for in all probability, a new site for a cemetery

[12] Paris Arch. Col., C13A10, f. 49.
[13] Paris Arch. Col., C13A10, f. 49.
[14] *Ibid.*, f. 178.

would be sought. Upon Father Raphael's recommendation, Governor Perier and Monsieur de la Chaise recognized the reasonableness of the people's objection and appointed Monsieur de la Loire des Ursins to assist Father Philibert in selecting a site for both church and cemetery.[15]

As the settlement at Nachez was constantly growing, the necessity of building a church became more imperative. The Company favored the project, but as usual offered no financial aid. It devolved on Father Raphael to take up the cause and he proposed to defray the expenses of the church with the money left by Father Maximin, a former pastor of Natchez. This priest was a Discalced Carmelite who had remained with the Capuchins when his brethren returned to France.[16] At his death which occurred shortly after the arrival of the Capuchins he left eighty piasters (about $81.00) in white silver, some tobacco and other goods which were sold at auction. Father Raphael proposed to the Company to erect a church at Natchez with the money of Father Maximin's estate and the Company gladly consented. But who had the money? The eighty piasters had been in possession of Father Bruno who in turn gave them to his successor Father Raphael, but the proceeds netted at the sale of the other goods were nowhere to be found. People who bought at the auction sale said they paid their money to Monsieur de Cazeneufve, a Major of Natchez. Inquiry of the Major revealed that the sale had netted nearly one thousand crowns and that the entire sum had been handed over to Monsieur Bienville and the late Monsieur de Paillou. Monsieur Bienville was then in France and upon representation of Father Raphael, Governor Perier appealed to the authorities of the Company in Paris to obtain the

[15] *Ibid.*, f. 179.

[16] In his letter of December 28, 1726, to Abbé Raguet, Father Raphael refers to "Father Maximin of the Order of Discalced *Augustinians*, as they tell me, but since no papers were found after his death to prove to which order he belonged and with what permission he had come to the colony, I can say nothing certain of his state. He was pastor at the Natchez when we first came into this country and sometime later he died suddenly." Cf. Paris Arch. Col., C13A10, f. 49. As there are no Discalced Augustinians, it is evident that Father Maximin was a Discalced Carmelite who remained in the Louisiana Mission after his brethern were recalled to France.

information from Bienville as to what had become of the papers and proceeds pertaining to the sale of Father Maximin's possessions. But whether or not this order was complied with is nowhere stated.

However, the Superior Council of New Orleans and the people of Natchez were in favor of building a church. But for the time being it was decided to repair the delapidated rectory and continue to use the same room for worship until another could be built near the site of the future church. Meanwhile, a plot near the fort and the settlement, abandoned for several years by Monsieur Tisserand, was considered a chosen site for the church. At present Natchez has but one church, the cathedral, built on the bluff in the heart of the city and is well-nigh a hundred years old. By how many churches the cathedral was preceded, when and where they were built is not to be learned from the Cathedral Archives which are bare of documents antedating July 28, 1837, when the diocese of Natchez was erected.

Poor as were the first accommodations for worship at Natchez, no less poor was the sanctuary equipment. Father Raphael says in his *Etat des Missions 1727:*

> The Church at Natchez needs linens and other things necessary for the decency of the services. There are here only two very coarse altar cloths which are intact, and two other finer ones, but very much damaged by rats. There is no monstrance for Benediction and for processions. One might be made of the silver-plate which is superfluous, for there are two chalices and three ciboria. It would be a matter only of paying for the remaking.

On the margin of the document is the following remark of Governor Perier:

> Regarding the linen, Father Raphael is requested to draw up a memoir of what is necessary, so that it can be ordered. He should also have the kindness to have the two ciboria sent from Natchez and a monstrance will be made from them.[17]

There was also need of a sexton, especially, to accompany the priest on sick calls with the Blessed Sacrament. On the advice of

[17] Paris Arch. Col., C13A10, f. 179.

Father Raphael, the most prominent people had engaged a sexton for five pounds of smoking tobacco. To this, some evil-minded people objected and refused to sign the contract, alleging that it was the duty of the Company to defray such expenses. Father Raphael requested the authorities of the Company to give a decision in this matter and also to investigate the case of certain directors of the concessions in the districts Blanche and de Sainte Catherine who refused to recognize the pastor of Natchez and to pay their parish taxes. These objectors alleged the right to name the pastor for their concessions.

Monsieurs Perier and de la Chaise answered that it did not pertain to the Company to hire a sexton, but rather to the churchwardens, and the sexton chosen according to the Act of October 26, 1726, was to be retained and encouraged to perform his duties in spite of the opposing minority. The majority was to rule and those who refused to pay their parish fees were to be compelled. The authorities also decided to write to the objectors to induce them to pay willingly.[18]

But the most pathetic note in the Vicar-General's diary was that concerning the hardships of Father Philibert.

> I shall have the honor, Sir, while finishing this detail, to inform you of the situation in which I have found and have left the missionary who administers at Natchez. It is most deplorable. I have found this poor religious reduced to a bowl of water and a dish of cornbread. He has no servant and is obliged to hire the services of a married couple whom he lodges at the priesthouse and with whom he lives in a poverty which may be called extreme. He was forced to give away the small quantity of wine and French flour which he had received from the Company, to have himself treated for a mischievous disease which he had last summer and of which he was cured against all expectations. I have left him before coming down here, a little quantity of wine and some candles for the sacrifice of the Mass, because he had none and was unable to procure any, since the Company does not furnish them any more, and the people do not want to defray the expense for them. I beg you, Sir, to be so kind as to have the Messieurs Directors decide, to whom I should apply for the furnishing of light and wine for Mass, which the Company formerly furnished. For regarding the

[18] *Ibid.*, ff. 178-179.

> new order which it has issued, according to which the missionaries have to defray that expense from their six hundred livres, it is absolutely impracticable at the high cost of victuals and other commodities necessary for subsistence. The church furnishes them at New Orleans. I have taken up a collection at Mobile for the same purpose, but there are places where neither the church nor the priest are able to furnish them, and at these places Mass is said most of the time with a tallow-candle, until elevation when a wax candle is lit. I am convinced, Sir, that you will take so much interest in this affair as to see to it that the Holy of Holies is treated with greater respect.[19]

When we read such heart-rending tales of missionary poverty and suffering, we cannot refrain from denouncing the Company which, although pledged to build churches and rectories, had after ten years of control so little to its credit in the Mission of Louisiana. Natchez was not destined to be a temporary post. From his first sight of the locality Father Raphael believed it would before long develop into one of the most important settlements of the colony. The fertile soil, easy to work, and the pure air, had attracted and bade fair to attract in future a goodly number of farmers who with the aid of the Negroes, would be able to pay promptly for their concessions. Tobacco thrived there and it was expected that indigo would do as well. Then, too, there were the vegetables that grew better in the Natchez district than anywhere else in the colony. "I cannot understand," said Father Raphael in his letter of December 28, 1726, to Raguet, "why they have hitherto decried and neglected a country which you need only to see to be charmed." [20]

After the bloody massacre of the French in 1729, to which we shall revert later, Natchez was practically abandoned. The missionary, Father Philibert, had escaped, but his house was ravaged, the Indians decking themselves and their horses with chasubles and antependia, and drinking brandy from the chalice and ciborium. Everything pertaining to divine worship was profaned in the most sacrilegious manner.[21] For many years the French hesitated to

[19] Paris Arch. Col., C13A10, f. 51.

[20] *Ibid.*, f. 50.

[21] Charlevoix, *Op. cit.*, VI, p. 101.

return to the scene of the carnage, the fort alone, situated near the river, being the only place permanently inhabited.[22]

Balize.

This post, founded in 1722 at the mouth of the Mississippi, was to serve as a defense for the river's entrance and as a guide to French vessels ascending the river. The fort was sometimes called the French Post and lay two miles east of the river's entrance. It had a fine battery of cannon, a barracks, magazine, dwelling for the commander and a church.[23] In 1726, Father Raphael visited this fort and reported very disparagingly to Abbé Raguet both of the place and the people.

> When I arrived here on the Island of Balize, whence I have the honor to write you, Sir, I found Father Caspar [Gaspard sometimes] the missionary, in such a pitiable state that you can hardly believe it. He is dangerously ill, suffering from high fever, dysentery and rheumatism. He is lodging in a miserable chicken-coop, without chimney and without the least accommodation. There are not two farthings' worth of drugs in the post to ease him, and if the surgeon had not been so kind as to give him a little of his own, this poor religious would have been abandoned. Moreover, in general, this post lacks practically everything that is necessary for life, and to obtain them, you must pay two and three times more than elsewhere, unless you can draw from the magazine. The island does not produce a blade other than sparse reed. It is so narrow that there is no place to cultivate a garden, and where space is available, the ground is covered with sea-salt that burns up everything.
>
> There are no other inhabitants here besides soldiers, a few workingmen and Negroes, all people incapable of relieving a priest in such straights. There is nobody who does not admit that it is absolutely impossible to live on the six hundred livres [$133.35] which the Company pays a priest. Nevertheless, they want to have a missionary on this and other posts like it, without considering the impossibility to make a living there. I have helped them as much as I could, but the perquisites at New Orleans are now so small that those stationed there find it hard to make a living. They tell us that the former mis-

[22] *Records* (ACHS), X, p. 206.

[23] French, B. F., *Historical Collections of Louisiana*, p. 29; Pittman, *Op. cit.*, p. 38.

> sionaries were satisfied with the six hundred livres. To this, Sir, I shall have the honor to reply, that those missionaries had always been stationed in the chief post of the colony and none of them were placed at those detached and smaller posts with the exception of Monsieur Davion who stayed with the Tonicas, but there he had a decent home which was worth something.
>
> Moreover, these Gentlemen took from the magazine what they thought proper and carried on a traffic which netted them much more than their salary. For my part, Sir, I tell you, I should prefer to quit the Mission than to carry on or permit to be carried on such sort of trading, which is absolutely out of keeping with our station. I flatter myself, Sir, that you will be so kind as to consider our needs and procure us means of livelihood.[24]

In another report of April 24, 1727, Father Raphael protested to the Company that the church, newly built but left unfinished, was used by the secular authorities as a magazine, while Mass had to be said in the kitchen of the missionary. The notes written on the margin of the report by Governor Perier and M. de la Chaise show that these officials were in full sympathy with the Vicar-General. They blamed the President of the workingmen of the colony for the unfinished church and gave orders to discontinue using the church for such a profane purpose. Until its completion Father Caspar was authorized to say Mass in a respectable government building. Both Governor Perier and M. de la Chaise admitted that Balize was a difficult post and that the six hundred livres were but a pittance entirely insufficient for a decent living. They recommended that the government raise the missionary's salary to that of a sailor so that he might hire a servant who should also accompany him when he bears the Blessed Sacrament to the ill.[25]

There is no trace of anything else having been done in answer to Father Raphael's appeal. The post was not maintained for many years, for by the year 1750, there was not the least appearance of the original fort.[26] The little tongue-shaped island on which it was built had been swept into the river, and in 1768, a new Balize was

[24] Paris Arch. Col., C13A10, f. 44.

[25] *Ibid.*, f. 179.

[26] Watrin in *Researches* (ACHS), XVII, p. 89.

built two miles up the river by the Spanish Governor, Don Ulloa, for the accommodation of pilots.[27]

Mobile.

After the founding of New Orleans and the transfer of the capital, Mobile naturally suffered from the emigration to the Mississippi. But every ship that arrived from the mother country brought new settlers and many of them were drawn to the original settlement. Fathers Matthew of St. Anne and Charles, or perhaps Joseph of St. Charles, as the name appears occasionally in the New Orleans Records, seem to have been the only two Carmelite missionaries to officiate at Mobile. Father Charles signs the Register on April 18, 1721, as curé of the Apalaches, as do many of the succeeding missionaries. The first Capuchin signature to appear in the Mobile Register is that of Father Claude who seems to have been pastor from 1723-1726, when as Father Raphael says, he was sent back to France "on account of the little satisfaction he has given by his conduct."[28] His successor was Father Mathias of Sedan, whose first signature appears under date of February 9, 1726. We read of him that on September 8, 1727, he was delegated by the bishop to receive an abjuration of heresy. Edward Hurchsall of the English Province of Quainte (Kent?) made profession of faith in the Catholic Church and publicly abandoned his Protestant heresy in the presence, among others, of the Jesuit Father Petit and of Monsieur Diron, Chevalier of the Order of St. Louis, colonel of infantry and commandant of Fort Conde.[29] From this we see that, Bienville's Black Code of 1724, which had prohibited all worship but the Catholic, did not go to the length of banishing Protestants as it did the Jews. No doubt, a Protestant could remain in the colony, if he did not worship in public.

Under the pastorship of Father Mathias the Vicar-General made his first visitation to Mobile. The brevity of his remarks seems to indicate that in general he was satisfied with conditions. He notes that the church was small for the growing parish but praises the rectory as rather commodious. "There are neither school-teacher

[27] Charlevoix, *Op. cit.*, p. 70; Pittman, *Op. cit.*, p. 34.

[28] Paris Arch. Col., C13A10, f. 44.

[29] Hamilton, Peter J., *Colonial Mobile*, p. 130, New York, 1897.

nor chanter who are paid," he says, "yet it is proper to have them for conducting divine service and for instructing the children.[30] In their answer, Governor Perier and Monsieur de la Chaise agreed that the Parish of Mobile was large enough to warrant both teacher and chanter and they recommended them for salaries.

From the Mobile Register we also learn of other Capuchins who were active in and around Mobile. The dates of baptisms, weddings and funerals over their signatures indicate approximately the time of their arrival in the mission. In 1736, Father Jean François appears; in 1737, Fathers Prosper and Agnan; in 1738, Fathers Felix and Amand; in 1743, Father Seraphim; in 1747, Father Peter; in 1752, Fathers Hilary, Barnabas and Sebastian alternate. In 1741, during the administration of Father Amand, the record says that the church having never been dedicated and having been completely rebuilt was blessed on the feast of the Nativity of Our Lady. On that account he dedicated it to the Blessed Virgin by special commission sent him by Father Peter Vitry, Jesuit Vicar-General. From that time on the church is known as Notre Dame de la Mobile.[31]

In 1756, the pastorship of the Capuchin Father Ferdinand begins. His indifferent but characteristic handwriting, becoming more uncertain and feeble, survives the French period. In 1763, at the conclusion of the Seven Years' War, the Mobile district was ceded by France to England. Although Father Ferdinand's sympathies were with the French he, nevertheless, overcame his sentiments and remained at his post. Thus he held the position longer than any of his predecessors, and to his records we owe much of our knowledge of his times. The church stood southwest of the fort near the present Emmanuel and Theatre Streets. There these pioneer Sons of St. Francis said Mass and baptized, married the living and buried

[30] Paris Arch. Col., C13A10, f. 180. Whether Father Raphael means that Mobile had a school but no paid teacher, or that it had neither school nor teacher, is not altogether clear. His words *il n'y a point de maitre d'ecole ni de chantre gages*, "there are neither school-teacher nor chanter who are paid," might with equal right be taken to mean that the services of both teacher and chanter, who might be the priest or lay brother, were given gratis.

[31] Hamilton, *Op. cit.*, p. 132.

the dead with the imposing ritual of the Church, forgetting their French homes across the waters and sacrificing many high ambitions, in their ministry to the struggling settlers of primitive Mobile.

Little or nothing is known of the personal characteristics of these missionaries, but there is no gainsaying the extensive character of their apostolic labors. Dauphin Island, sixty miles distant and still attended from Mobile, was visited by these early Capuchins. Pascagoula, forty miles from the city, was also a Capuchin Mission and the parish records of 1726, show the burial certificates of several people found drowned in Fish River which flows through that district. Nor were the Indians neglected, for the records reveal that the Capuchins ministered to Chato, Apalachian, Mobilian, Taensaw, Choctaw and other Indian tribes of that region.

In 1771, as a culmination to the lean years that followed the transfer of Mobile to England, the inhabitants of Mobile were no longer able to support a resident priest and Father Ferdinand, now old and decrepit, was obliged to retire to New Orleans. But he was not absent long when twenty-six of the leading Mobilians petitioned earnestly for his recall, urging the English governor to allow him a salary. Governor Chester warmly recommended the return of the good priest to his flock, and we soon find him ministering again in the Church of Our Lady of Mobile. The citizens welcomed him warmly and stinted themselves to support him, for the English authorities denied him the salary. However, the days of the white-haired friar were numbered. Soon we recognize the trembling hand, the almost illegible writing and at last the abbreviated entries often left unsigned. Sometime, perhaps not long after that last signature under the marginal date of 1773, the old citizens closed his eyes, and in or near the church he had served so long, laid to rest his beloved form. That original church is gone, its very site uncertain, the grave and its contents unknown; but somewhere near the present Emmanuel and Theatre Streets lies the hallowed dust of Ferdinand, the last French curé of Mobile.[32]

Les Allemands.

One of the most noted landmarks along the Mississippi, twenty-three miles above New Orleans, is the church of St. Charles Bor-

[32] Hamilton, *Op. cit.*, p. 214.

romeo, known far and wide as the "Red Church." For over a century it has stood there, sentinel-like, in St. Charles Parish, guarding God's interests on earth.

> In the early steamboat and packet days on the Mississippi, the Red Church was accepted as a determinating factor in river circles—it being a fixed custom to pay off crews as the New Orleans bound packets hove in sight of the little church forming a bright splotch of color against the solemn moss-draped oaks and outlying plantations and stately homes. Fronting the river, nestling close to the levee, it conveyed a familiar welcome to travelers by steamboats, and the cry would arise, "There's the Red Church ahead," and then the work of paying off the crews started, the roustabouts immediately thereafter assembled upon the decks shooting dice, playing cards, and in the short run to New Orleans the pay had changed hands four or five times, most of the men arriving broke and glad to sign again for another trip.[33]

This famous old landmark hastening fast to decay is the result of the faith and zeal of the early Capuchin missionaries and a group of sturdy Germans who like many others were attracted to Louisiana. *Les Allemands* or the Germans began to settle in Louisiana about 1718, coming on the invitation of John Law. Realizing that the success of the colony depended on permanent settlements of agriculturists and seeing the French bent rather on quick gains through the discovery of gold and silver, Law turned to Switzerland and the Rhenish districts where discontent was rampant as a result of the Spanish Succession Wars. Pamphlets in various languages were disseminated, one of which printed in German described Louisiana in glowing colors. A copy of this German pamphlet printed in Leipzig in 1720, was discovered in a New Orleans bookshop by the late Professor Deiler of Tulane University, New Orleans. According to its description, the Louisiana soil was so productive that it bore four crops annually, and three hundred acres of land worth thirty thousand thalers could be bought for one hundred thalers. Moved by these extravagant reports, some ten thousand Germans emigrated from the Rhine region hoping to make their fortune in the "Land of Promise."

[33] *The Times-Picayune*, New Orleans, La., March 25, 1923.

But only a very small portion of the ten thousand reached their destination. No preparations had been made in the French ports for such a vast throng of strangers, who, underfed and diseased, were practically abandoned for months. Quite naturally, their ranks were soon thinned by the death of some and by the discouragement of others. Then, too, many succumbed on the voyage so that of the original number that left Europe scarcely two thousand reached the shores of Louisiana, and of these two thousand, many more soon perished from climatic hardships.[34]

Nor was this the end of their sorrows. There were no accommodations for them when they finally reached their destination. Aside from a little gardening, agriculture such as the Germans were accustomed to, was unknown. The French settlers received their supplies from France or San Domingo, and if ships failed to arrive, soldiers were sent to scour the woods for game. Add to this lack of farming facility, the failure of John Law's financial scheme and one may well imagine the turmoil of all colonists, the Germans included. The latter had been given a concession on the Arkansas River, but so hopeless was the outlook for success that they soon abandoned the site and came down *en masse* to New Orleans demanding passage back to Europe. Governor Bienville, however, persuaded them to accept the rich alluvial lands on the right bank of the Mississippi, about twenty-three miles above New Orleans, where two German settlements had been destroyed in the hurricane of 1721. To stem the Indians, the government established a military post among the Germans under the command of Karl Friedrich D'Arensbourg who served for more than forty years as commander and judge of the German Coast.[35]

The hardships of these pioneer Germans in Louisiana beggar description. The land was covered with a semi-tropical forest and with a thick undergrowth. To this came the malarial contagion of the river bottoms and the floods. The Company supplied neither horses nor plows, nor means of transportation. There was not a horse in the German settlement until ten years later. The census

[34] Deiler, Hanno J., *The Settlement of the German Coast of Louisiana and the Creoles of German Descent*, pp. 15-17, Philadelphia, 1909.

[35] *Ibid.*, p. 42. Also: "La Religion en Louisiane" in *L'Observateur Louisianis*, V, pp. 496-509.

of 1724, records but seven cows to fifty-six German families. Deiler declares that the German settlers of the German Coast must have perished had they come of a less hardy stock.[36] The value of their pioneer labors in Louisiana is well attested in a letter written by Laussat, colonial Prefect of Louisiana in 1803, to Chaptal, Minister of the Interior.

> This class of peasants, and especially of that nationality, is just the class we need and the only one which always achieved perfect success in these parts. What is called here the German Coast is the most industrious, the most populous, the most at ease, the most upright, the most respected part of the inhabitants of this colony. . . The emigrants of our southern Provinces are not worth anything.[37]

The first Germans who settled on the German Coast attended divine service in the parish church of St. Louis at New Orleans. Here they also had their children christened and their weddings solemnized, as the Cathedral Records of 1720-1730 prove. But soon these ambitious Germans built a chapel on what is now called *Le Saussier* (Trinity Plantation), below Bonnet Carré Bend in St. Charles Parish. The mission was then attended by a Capuchin Father from New Orleans. The chapel must have been built immediately after the Germans settled on Bienville's concession, for in 1727, after his visitation of the German Coast, Father Raphael pleaded for a new church for the Germans, saying:

> They [the Company] may be so good as to give the same orders for the parish of *Les Allemands,* where formerly a miserable shed standing in a hole served as a chapel but which is now fallen into decay. The people are too poor to build at their own expense a church and parsonage which they need, and the Company is expected to be so kind as to defray this expense, since by the Letters Patent for its establishment in this colony, the Company has obliged itself to support a priest for them and to furnish everything necessary for divine service.

[36] *Op. cit.*, p. 56; Schrader, Fred. Franklin, *The Germans in the Making of America,* pp. 149-155, Boston, 1924.

[37] Deiler, *Op. cit.*, p. 129. In like strain speaks the unknown author of the Manuscript dated 1751-1753; "The inhabitants are a laborious and industrious race to which the New Orleans people principally look for the provisions to stock their markets. Cf. *Records* (ACHS), X, 206-207.

To this reminder Governor Perier replied that a church was indeed necessary at *Les Allemands* if religion was to be preserved. But before any steps might be taken in that direction an order from the Company would have to be forthcoming. He would do what he could to prevail on the Company to do its duty and in the meantime he expected Father Raphael to continue sending the Capuchin to the mission.[38] The Germans with their little chapel, built we may say, simultaneously with their settlement, showed far more religious energy than the French who long after the establishment of New Orleans, were content to worship their God in old stores and warehouses. The Capuchins continued to attend the German church from New Orleans until 1729, when as the budget says, provision was made for a resident priest.[39]

In 1740, according to tradition, the first chapel was replaced by a rude log cabin painted red. This was known as the first "Red Church." In 1806, it was destroyed by fire and in the same year replaced by the present "Red Church" which still stands as a memorial of by-gone days. The earliest records of baptisms, marriages and funerals bear the dates 1739-1755. Therein are recorded the official acts of the Capuchin Fathers, countersigned by the commandants of the post. During the French period it was Fathers Philip, Prosper and Barnabas who were the regular pastors, as in this order of succession their names predominate in the register. The last Capuchin signature in the register is that of Father Dagobert who signed as late as 1794.

Adjacent to the church is the cemetery, the oldest German burial ground in this part of the South. Here as elsewhere in the New Orleans district, the dead are placed in tombs above the ground owing to the dampness of the soil. Many curious tombs still perpetuate the family names of the early settlers, but the earliest vaults have crumbled into the Mississippi, having fallen a prey to the crevasses and inundations that have ravished that section.[40] In 1750, there were two hundred families on the German Coast, making it the second largest settlement, New Orleans exceeding it

[38] Paris Arch. Col., C13A10, f. 180.
[39] Deiler, *Op. cit.*, p. 63.
[40] *Times-Picayune*, March 25, 1923.

by four hundred.[41] The report of May 24, 1728, says that the Capuchin, Father Philip, is the missionary to the Germans and the Company pays him a salary of six hundred livres.[42]

† Principal Stations of the Capuchin Mission.

Today the German Coast, a section of which is commonly called "Red Church," is in a flourishing condition, and the Creoles of German descent constitute a large, if not the largest part of the white population. But they have now lost their German identity.

[41] *Bullarium Capucinorum*, VII, p. 330.
[42] Paris Arch. Col., B43, ff. 775-776.

More than a century ago they sacrificed their mother tongue and are now representative Creoles in habits, in ideas, in names. Most of them have translated their names into French, Herr Zweig becoming Monsieur La Branche.[43] Today, important commercial enterprises are expanding activities along the river banks. Steamships are loading and unloading oil, mahogany and other valuable cargoes, but amidst all progressive changes, the little "Red Church" stands in bold contrast to its more pretentious successor, the beautiful white church of Spanish Gothic, a latter-day monument to the faith of the sturdy settlers of 1718.

Pointe Coupée.

The settlements at Pointe Coupée begin about forty miles from the River Iberville and extend twenty miles on the west side of the Mississippi. The origin of this name, as in every other case of nomenclature in Louisiana, is very interesting. It is said, that as Bienville passed up the Mississippi he encountered a passage or portage through which he found it necessary to drag his boats. Across a narrow isthmus, "only a musket shot wide," as they measured in those primitive days, the river had begun to trickle slowly. One of the companions of Bienville began to follow the little stream which had evidently been made by the inundations of the river. Surprising to relate, he had not gone far when he found himself by the side of the river and saw the white cliffs before him. He at once returned to his companion and acquainted him with his discovery. As the stream was about a foot deep, they launched their canoe, cutting away the roots of trees and bushes blocking the passage, while the waters of the Mississippi entering, seconded their efforts so that within a short time they accomplished their purpose. It is reported that within less than six years, the water rushing tumultously through the opening, had cut off a crescent-shaped piece of land, giving birth to the name "Pointe Coupée," "Cut-off Point," borne to this day by a Louisiana parish and town.[44]

Here the French built a fort of quadrangular shape with four bastions, barracks for soldiers, store-houses and a prison. The fertility of the soil had brought a goodly number of settlers to

[43] *Magazine of American History*, X, p. 215.

[44] Pittman, *Op. cit.*, pp. 72-74; *Magazine of American History*, X, p. 212.

Pointe Coupée and soon many plantations flourished. Tobacco, indigo and maize were cultivated extensively, vast quantities of poultry were raised and a great deal of timber was squared and made into staves. All the products were loaded on rafts and floated down the Mississippi to New Orleans.

When Father Raphael visited this mission in 1726, he found that no provision had been made for a church. Accordingly, he represented to the authorities that both the number of families and the distance from other missionary stations made it necessary to erect a church and parsonage at this isolated post. He reminded them that Pointe Coupée could be the central station whence missionaries could minister to the Bascagoulas and the Houmas. While Governor Perier and Monsieur de la Chaise approved of Father Raphael's suggestion, it was not until 1738, that Father Anselm de Langres was authorized to build the chapel under the patronage of St. Francis of Assisi. The chapel was dedicated on March 16, and the bells were blessed on Holy Saturday.[45] In 1750, there were one hundred Catholic families at Pointe Coupée.[46] In 1765, Father Watrin speaks of a large and neat church with the Capuchin, Father Irenaeus as pastor.[47]

Les Apalaches.

The Apalaches were a tribe of Indians from Florida, among whom the Spanish Franciscans had successfully labored. Long before 1700, these Indians had been converted to Catholicity and their chiefs could read and write. Previous to their coming to Mobile, the Apalaches had lived peacefully with the Spaniards, until the English, leagued with hostile Indians, encroached on their territories and attacked their mission stations to carry off the "Indian converts of the Spanish priests."[48] Under Governor Moore of South Carolina, a frightful raid was made on the peaceful settlement of the Apalaches and a wholesale massacre followed. Father John de Perga, their missionary, had urged his Indians to

[45] Shea, *Op. cit.*, p. 580.

[46] *Bullarium Capucinorum*, VII, p. 330.

[47] *Researches* (ACHS), XVII, p. 90.

[48] Shea, *History of the Catholic Missions among the Indian Tribes of the United States*, p. 73, New York, 1883.

fight bravely for God's holy law as no death could be more glorious than that for the faith. When he had given them all absolution, Mexia, their chief, advanced with four hundred Apalaches and thirty Spanish soldiers. Twice they repulsed the English near Ayubale on January 25, 1704, but ammunition failing, most of the Apalachian force were either killed or taken prisoners. Many were tied to the stake, tortured and burned. With them perished after equally cruel torture several of the Franciscan missionaries.[49]

Towards the end of 1704, those who escaped the English moved on to Mobile where Governor Bienville assigned them not only the fields, but also the grain to be planted. Later when the French left their first Fort Mobile, these Indians followed them, Bienville giving them a reservation on St. Martin's River, some three miles above the post. It is significant that the very first entry in the Mobile Baptismal Register records the baptism of a little Apalache girl on September 6, 1704, by Father Davion. Records of their baptisms continue under the pastorships of Fathers La Vente and Huvé. In April, 1721, we have baptismal entries of Apalaches by Father Charles, Discalced Carmelite, who appends to his name *Curé des Apalaches.* Penicaut, a worthy chronicler of early French Louisiana, gives very interesting details of the Catholic Apalaches. He says:

> The Apalaches have public service like Catholics in France. Their great feast is St. Louis' day. On the eve they come to invite the officers of the fort to the festivities in their village, and they offer good cheer that day to all who come, especially the French.
>
> The priests of our fort go there to say the High Mass, which they hear with much devotion, chanting the psalms in Latin as they do in France, and after dinner, Vespers and Benediction of the Blessed Sacrament. The men and women are very properly dressed that day. The men wear a kind of a cloth coat and the women mantles, petticoats of silk in French style, except that they wear no head dresses, going bare-headed. Their long jet black hair is plaited, and hangs down the back in one or two plaits, such as Spanish girls wear. Those whose hair is too long, turn it up to the middle of the back, and tie it with ribbon.
>
> They have a church where one of our French priests goes

[49] *Ibid.*, p. 74.

> on Sundays and holy days to say Mass. They have a baptismal font to baptize their children, and a cemetery beside their church, with a cross erected and there they bury their dead.[50]

In 1726, Father Raphael visited the Apalaches and reports as follows:

> Father Victorin, a Recollect, affiliated with the Capuchin Mission, acts as curate missionary. The savages have built him a chapel and a lodging according to their slender means. However, there are neither tabernacle nor ciborium there to reserve the Blessed Sacrament. The poor savages have not the means to provide for them. The Company is kindly asked to furnish them.

On the margin of this document we read the remark of Governor Perier:

> In the church at New Orleans there is a small ciborium which would be large enough for this parish. If Father Raphael will be so kind as to donate it for reserving the Sacrament in the tabernacle, orders will be given to have a tabernacle made either at Mobile or here [New Orleans].[51]

The zeal of the converted Apalaches which prompted them to provide a church and parsonage for their missionary stands in deep contrast with the indifference and, in some cases unpardonable neglect, on the part of the French. Towards the end of the French Period the Apalachian settlement numbered thirty Catholic families.[52] In 1765, the Apalaches had retired to the district of the Natchitoches near the Red River.[53]

The Tonicas.

About one hundred miles above Pointe Coupée on the lower Yazoo River there lived in villages a small tribe of Indians called Tonicas, or "The People." Their definite history begins about the summer of 1698 with the missionary visits of the Seminary Priests from Quebec, Fathers Montigny, Davion and La Source. The tribe had just been decimated by a smallpox epidemic, which had ravaged

[50] Shea, *The Catholic Church in Colonial Days*, p. 554.
[51] Paris Arch. Col., C13A10, f. 180.
[52] *Bullarium Capucinorum*, VII, p. 330. [53] Watrin, *Op. cit.*, p. 90.

the whole southern portion of the Mississippi Valley, and numbers were still dying, several of whom, with their chief, received baptism. In 1699, Father Antoine Davion established a mission among them, studying their language and ministering to their allied tribes. In 1700, the Jesuit, Father Jacques Gravier visited them and later Father Nicholas Fourcault, also a Jesuit, came to them, but the latter was murdered by treacherous Koroa guides in collusion with the Yazoo. In consequence of these murders Father Davion retired to the French fort at Mobile until a delegation of Tonicas succeeded in effecting his return about the year 1705. A year later, in consequence of the Chickasaw raids instigated by the Caroline slave traders, the Tonicas fled across the Mississippi and settled near the mouth of the Red River, Father Davion accompanying them.

In 1719, the historian La Harpe visited the Tonica Village and found Father Davion still there and very much revered despite his severe denunciation of their polygamy and heathen ceremonials. By this time they had abandoned their worst heathenisms, but still they were so indifferent to Christian teaching that Father Davion withdrew in despair of ever converting them. Notwithstanding his severe condemnation, the Tonicas reverenced Father Davion to such an extent that when he burned their sacred fire temple they did him no violence. In the Natchez massacre of 1729 as well as in other conflicts which the French had with the powerful Natchez, the Tonicas always supported the French. For that reason the Natchez leagued with the Chickasaw and Koroa, retaliated on the Tonicas in 1731, killing their best warriors and their chief. From this blow they never recovered. In 1758, they still counted about two hundred and fifty souls in a village above Pointe Coupée, but sometime between 1784 and 1803, the remnant removed to the neighborhood of Marksville, on the Red River, where some thirty mixed bloods still remain, besides a few others scattered in the Choctaw Nation, Oklahoma and elsewhere.

After Father Davion had abandoned the Tonicas, they had no resident missionary. After some few years the Capuchins took up their cause and ministered to them as the opportunity presented itself. In 1727, Father Raphael pleaded with the Company to support a regular missionary for the Catholic Tonicas, as well as

for the French who resided near them. The authorities favored sending them a missionary, especially, since they had always been attached to the French. The Report of 1728, mentions no provision for a missionary for the Tonicas, but it is most reasonable to suppose that, since the Capuchin Vicar-General pleaded for them, he also appointed the missionary at Pointe Coupée, some sixty miles below the Tonicas, to minister to their spiritual needs.[54]

Natchitoches.

The Natchitoches were a tribe of the Caddo Indians known as Tejas to the Spanish, and Assinais to the French, living on the Red River about two hundred miles from New Orleans. In 1718, Bienville established Fort St. John Baptist in their vicinity, not so much to control the Indians as to keep in abeyance the Spanish ensconced at Adayes, some twenty miles west of the river. In the first year of the fort the French kept about thirty-five soldiers in the garrison, while other colonists were encouraged to settle in the neighborhood to cultivate the land.

The first priest to bring the consolations of religion to the French and Indians at Natchitoches was the Venerable Antonio Margil, a Spanish Franciscan ministering to the Indians at Adayes. Hearing that the French at Natchitoches had never had a priest, he journeyed on foot to them in 1717, heard confessions, said Mass and preached. Shea says: "So fruitful were the labors of the Spanish priest at the neglected post, that the Vicar-General at Mobile wrote to thank him warmly for his Christian charity to the French at Natchitoches." [55] In 1765, there were fifty Catholic families at Natchitoches.[56] The Spanish Franciscans from Texas continued to attend the French and Indians on the Red River till 1728, when the report of that year credits the Capuchin, Father Maximin, with a salary of six hundred livres for pastoral work at Natchitoches.[57] Referring to the settlers on the Red River, Father Raphael wrote to the Company in 1727:

[54] Paris Arch. Col., C13A10, f. 180.

[55] *Op. cit.*, pp. 490-491. By the Vicar-General, Le Maire is probably meant.

[56] *Bullarium Capucinorum*, VII, p. 330.

[57] Paris Arch. Col., B43, f. 826.

> It is necessary to give them priests because the number of people demands it and it is desirable to dispense with the services of the Spanish Fathers who come from time to time to say Mass at Natchitoches, but who being ignorant of French, can neither hear confessions nor preach. As soon as Capuchin missionaries will arrive from France, one shall be sent there. Meanwhile the Gentlemen are requested to give orders that a church or chapel with a convenient lodging for the missionary be built.[58]

We do not know when the first chapel or church was built. Father Maximin was probably the first Capuchin to take charge of Natchitoches and, judging from the parish records, must have remained till 1737. In gathering material for his *Texas in the Middle Eighteenth Century,* Dr. Herbert Eugene Bolton visited Natchitoches and gleaned the following interesting and valuable information regarding the pastors during the French Domination. He says:

> The list is obviously incomplete. Pierre Vitry, Jesuit, 1737-1738; Fr. Jean François, 1738; there is a break in the records to 1741; Fr. Arcange, 1741-1744; Fr. Dagobert, Capuchin, 1743-1744; Fr. Barnabe, Capuchin, 1744-1745; Fr. Eustache, 1745-1750 (Fr. Ame was there in March 1749); there is a gap in the records for ten years; Fr. Valentine, Capuchin, 1759-1762 (in this period Fr. Joseph Diaz Infante and Fr. Joseph Calahorra y Saenz, of Los Adaes, officiated several times, while one burial was made by a layman, Jean Luis Borme, (in default of a curate); Fr. Francisco Xavierus a Concepcione Boseta, Fr. Ygnacio Maria Laba, and Fray Calahorra y Saenz, missionaries of Los Adaes [*sic*], officiated several times in 1763-1764; while once in 1764 Jacques Bunel, a layman, performed one burial; Fr. Stanislaus, Capuchin, 1764; there is a break in the records to 1776.[59]

Practically all these priests were Capuchins and we have met them either at Mobile or New Orleans. Although it is not mentioned, nevertheless, it is certain that Fathers Jean François and Eustache, were Capuchins, while Fathers Arcange and Ame were

[58] *Ibid.*, C13A10, f. 180.

[59] Bolton, Herbert Eugene, *Athanase De Mezières and the Louisiana-Texas Frontier 1768-1780,* p. 134, note, Cleveland, 1914.

probably either Capuchins or Spanish Franciscans. In his report to Propaganda in 1765, Father Watrin says merely:

> The mission of the Red River is called Natchitoches. It is intrusted to the Capuchin Fathers. It is about one hundred leagues long and is situated at about five leagues from that of the Spaniards, which one meets on his way to Mexico, and which they have called the Adaies. The place occupied by the French is pretty well inhabited, about as would be a small borough in France. A Capuchin Father is there.[60]

The Chapitoulas.

Some six or seven miles above New Orleans was the district of the Chapitoulas, whom Father Raphael found without priest and altar at the time of his general visitation in 1727. As the government maintained no garrison here, Father Raphael feared the Company would hesitate in granting the necessary appropriation for a church and the missionary. In appealing to the Company he begged the authorities not to favor any individual or group of individuals to erect the church, because they would probably insist on the right of patronage which the missionaries had long learnt to abominate. In this connection he opposed, especially, a certain Monsieur Dubreiul who for selfish reasons was proposing the erection of a church. He says:

> Sir Dubreiul solicits here the right for his concession as he has done in France. He has in mind that this privilege will help him to sell his land and he is absolutely unable to defray the cost of building a church and supporting a priest. He has not a single vassal on his territory and his neighbors are in a better position to make these outlays and will never permit that he have the right to appoint the priest for them. Moreover, a curacy must be established for the Chapitoulas. However, the concession of Sir Dubreiul is not the best place for it, because, although the land between his concession and New Orleans may in future become peopled, it is not likely that it would entail too much for the pastors of New Orleans and Chapitoulas to take care of the same by dividing [the territory] among themselves.
>
> It seems, moreover, best not to multiply needlessly parishes in a country like this where priests will be ever more scarce

[60] *Op. cit.*, p. 90.

> than in Europe. My idea would be to erect the church for the Chapitoulas on the concession of Mr. Koly, because then the missionary would be within reach of the Chapitoulas and the adjoining places, as well as of Cannes Brulées, which is only half a league distant by land. In this way present needs might be relieved without compromising the future; for if in future the number of people should increase to such an extent that the erection of another parish between the former [Chapitoulas] and New Orleans, should become necessary, nothing would be in the way.[61]

The Vicar-General spoke for the best interests of the Mission and, while the Governor readily conceded that a church was needed at Chapitoulas and at Les Cannes Brulées where many French and Negroes were living, nevertheless, many years were permitted to pass before that need was met. In the *Etat d'Eglise* in 1728, the Capuchin, Father Theodore is mentioned as attending the Chapitoulas.[62] At the end of the French Domination Father Watrin says of the Chapitoulas:

> A few leagues above New Orleans, was formerly a curé established for the instruction of some inhabitants living there. The district was called the Chapitoulas. The post is still considerable but there are no longer any missionaries. Besides the two last wars, of 1743 and 1756, have rendered very difficult the transportation of all those who wanted to go to that colony.[63]

From this succinct sketch we are able to form at least some idea of the vast territory comprised in the Capuchin Mission of Louisiana and of the hardships of the first missionaries. We see also that the posts officially assigned the Capuchins by the Company were not sufficient to tax the limit of their zeal. True to their tradition of rendering service where service is needed, they went out of their way to minister to the neglected Indian tribes, a fact hitherto ignored by Church historians save in the case of the Apalaches. The Memoir of the Louisiana Mission written by Abbé Raguet sometime in 1724 or 1725, enumerates the Apalaches, Alibamons, Natchitoches and Natchez as Capuchin posts, besides the Tonicas, Bayagoulas and Chapitoulas mentioned in the report

[61] Paris Arch. Col., C13A10, f. 324. [62] Paris Arch. Col., B43, f. 775.
[62] *Op. cit.*, p. 89.

of 1727.[64] If any settlement was without church or missionary, the blame cannot be laid at the threshold of the Capuchins who were led by so zealous a priest as Father Raphael. Underpaid and undernourished, often unwelcome to the indifferent, lazy and even corrupt settlers, these apostolic missionaries went up and down the country scattering the good seed of faith to the French, the Indian and the Negro. Even the neglected English settlements did not escape the vigilant eye of Father Raphael, for in 1727, after his tour of the field, he pleaded with the Company to support a church and missionary for them as well as for the "habitation on the lower river." He even suggested sacrificing one of the missionaries of New Orleans for the benefit of this forsaken corner of the Lord's vineyard. But to the latter suggestion Governor Perier objected saying: "Two priests are not sufficient for New Orleans. It is extensive. Three are necessary, one of whom must serve the hospital, besides the Frere Regent of the College." [65] The calibre of Father Raphael's zeal may be somewhat measured from the task he set himself in 1726, and of which he wrote to the Abbé saying:

> Going up the river, I have decided to go from farm to farm to have them make their Easter duty. I shall do the same going from New Orleans up to the Natchez when I shall have an opportunity. I hope after that to know well how the people live in the country, and what means have to be used to remedy the disorders.[66]

From this we also learn somewhat of the character of the settlers who, before performing their religious duty, would brook such efforts on the part of their priests. If the coming years reveal little substantial progress in the Louisiana Church, it will be chargeable to the listless inhabitants rather than to the self-sacrificing pastors who spent themselves for their flocks.

The faithful service which the Capuchins rendered by their pastoral work was not the only benefit they conferred on the Mission. In every community and, especially, in isolated pioneer settlements, there is opportunity for educational and social work and to this also the Capuchins were to contribute their share.

[64] Paris Arch. Col., C13A11, f. 219, C13A10, f. 180-181.
[65] *Ibid.*, C13A10, f. 180. [66] *Ibid.*, f. 46.

CHAPTER IV

Educational and Social Work

The story of the Church in Louisiana would be incomplete without a chapter devoted to her educational and social work. In striving to promote the interests of the colony, the spiritual leaders were guided by the traditional practice of their older and more experienced Mother, the Church, whose history in any country is the record of persistent and heroic effort to instruct the ignorant and to succor the afflicted. Louisiana was to be no exception, for both institutions necessary for this task—the school and the hospital—were due to the benevolent influence of the Church.

The crowning glory of the pioneer Capuchins of New Orleans and of which the Vicar-General speaks at length in his reports, is the school which he opened sometime between 1723 and 1725. Writing to the Abbé Raguet on May 18, 1726, Father Raphael says:

> I have taken the honor, Sir, to notify you by my previous letter that I have established a small college at New Orleans. I have now the honor to assure you that the studies made there are very good. The number of pupils is as yet very small, but there are few children in the colony. Most of the people who could let their children study are satisfied with permitting them to learn to read and write, considering the rest as useless. There are, nevertheless, five or six who study other branches and succeed marvelously well.[1]

[1] Paris Arch. Col., C13A10, f. 46. The Capuchin school could not have been opened before 1723, for Father Raphael, who says expressly that he started the school, came to New Orleans only in the spring of 1723. Nor could the school have been established later than 1725, for the Jesuit, Father de Beaubois, tarrying in New Orleans in 1725, criticized the ignorance of the youth and merited the following rebuke from Father Raphael: "The Reverend Father de Beaubois exaggerates the ignorance and rudeness in which the youth grows up. He knew, nevertheless, that *a school had been conducted then at New Orleans* and that we never failed to impart Christian Doctrine on Sundays and Feasts. Neither could he be ignorant of my personal endeavors to find means to enable fathers and mothers to send their children to school." Paris Archives Col., C13A10, f. 47.

In Father Raphael's report of April 24, 1727, he says there are four religious at New Orleans, Fathers Raphael, Theodore, Hyacinth and Frater Cyril,[2] a deacon who teaches the children. Frater Cyril was not the first school teacher at New Orleans. Before him a teacher who also sang in the church had been paid by the Company, and when he returned to France, Brother St. Julien, Capuchin lay brother, succeeded him. The latter's name appears on the report of September 28, 1726, as receiving a salary of six hundred livres for teaching school.[3] Brother St. Julien also returned to France in 1727, and was succeeded by the deacon Cyril whose name appears on the report of May 24, 1728.[4] It was very charitable on the part of the Capuchins that in securing the salary for the teacher they did not burden the Company with any extra expense, for the latter had agreed to pay a salary to the lay brother who was to work for the priests. The Capuchins, however, denied themselves the domestic services of the lay brother so that he might teach the children. When the deacon Cyril arrived to teach school, they permitted the lay brother to return to France.[5]

The Capuchins also had to make heroic sacrifices to secure a building in which to conduct school. In planning the city of New Orleans the engineer reserved no plot for a school. As neither the Company of the Indies nor the colonists made any effort to provide for education, the Capuchins themselves felt obliged to take up the cause. Shortly after his arrival in New Orleans, Father Raphael began to make plans for starting the school. Near the church a house belonging to Monsieur Langloy was for sale and Father Raphael determined to secure it for a school. Accordingly, he discussed the matter with two influential men of the colony, the Sieurs de Lery and de la Freniere, and as a result, the three parties, *i. e.,* the Capuchin Fathers represented by Father Raphael, the

[2] In the few instances in which current Church literature refers to this Capuchin deacon, his name is misspelt in the most curious manner. Rochemonteix, *Op. cit.*, p. 296, note 2, calls him *Secille.* Griffin in *Researches* (ACHS), XVII, p. 127, also refers to him as *Cecile* but differs in the spelling. The copyist in the Ottawa Arch., XII, Vol. 464, varies the spelling between *Siriet* and *Sirit.*

[3] Paris Arch. Col., B43, f. 644.

[4] *Ibid.*, f. 775.

[5] *Ibid.*, C13A10, f. 178.

Sieur de Lery and the Sieur de la Freniere, agreed conjointly to buy the house, each party promising to pay one-third of the cost which was three thousand livres. As the Company was bound to provide a school, the purchasers of the house expected to be reimbursed, but this failing, each party agreed to bear one-third of the loss. By dint of sacrifice even in things essential, the friars had all but paid their portion, when the two other parties to the contract refused to abide by their agreement. They urged that since the contract had not been drawn up in legal form, they incurred no obligation and, having reconsidered the matter, were determined to withdraw. They even demanded that the two hundred francs already advanced by them be returned and the entire debt be borne by the missionaries.[6]

Dismayed at the cowardly conduct of these gentlemen, Father Raphael wrote to the Abbé Raguet on May 18, 1726, saying:

> I am only embarrassed about the payment of the house where school is conducted. Those who promised me to advance money for it, seem to disown their word, fearing lest they should not be reimbursed and not wishing to make outlays in favor of the public. I beg you, Sir, to honor me with your protection in this matter, for if I should be forced to abandon the house, this institution, so necessary and useful, will be surely ruined.[7]

The Abbé Raguet in his answer referred the Capuchins to Governor Perier and Monsieur de la Chaise who, being on the scene, were more capable of giving advice. Unable to bear the full expense and yet anxious to retain the house for a school, the Capuchins requested the local authorities either to compel the two gentlemen to pay what they promised, or to oblige the people themselves to provide a school for their children. Governor Perier admitted the necessity for a school in the capital of the colony, but believed that in default of the Sieurs de Lery and de La Freniere, neither the Capuchins nor the people should be obliged to pay for the house, but first and last it was incumbent on the Company. They recommended, therefore, that the Company study the matter and give a decision.[8]

[6] Paris Arch. Col., C13A10, f. 178.

[7] *Ibid.*, f. 46.

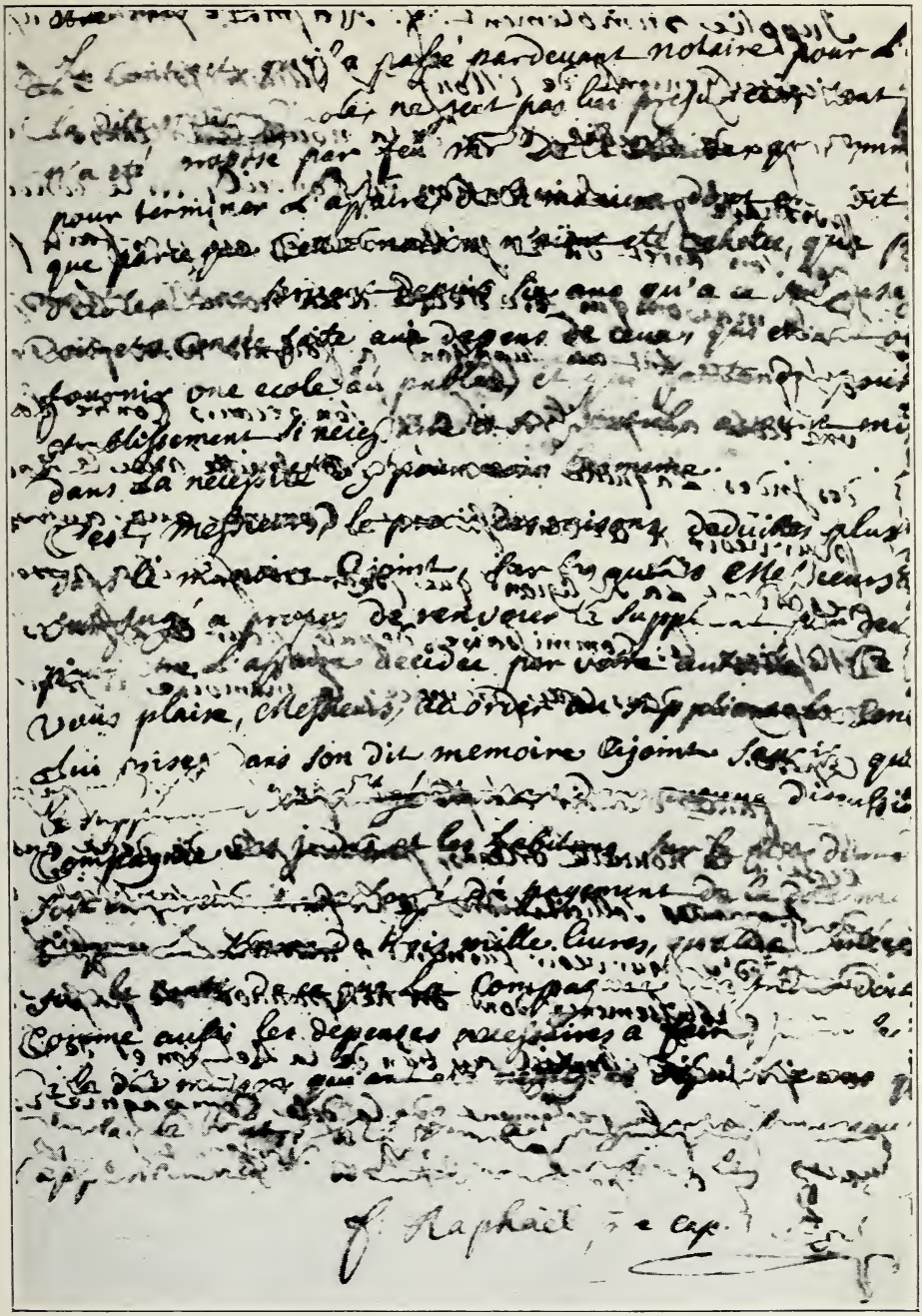
[8] Paris Arch. Col., C13A10, f. 178.

In the first hearing of the case the authorities of the Company had seen into the reasonableness of Father Raphael's contention, and on October 27, 1727, exonerated him of all obligation to Monsieur Langloy, the owner of the schoolhouse. It was publicly acknowledged that the missionary had acted not personally but formally in the name of the Company which, by virtue of its contract, was held to provide churches, schools and other establishments which concern religion. Later on, however, the case was reopened probably by some of the discontented members of the Superior Council, and on July 21, 1730, the Capuchin, Father Raphael, was ordered to pay Monsieur Langloy the sum of three thousand livres for the house he was using for a school. On April 4, 1731, the Capuchin Superior presented the Council with his defense, the burden of which was, that the duty of paying for the schoolhouse devolved not on him but either directly on the Company or indirectly on the settlers. In either case, it was the duty of those in authority to have this ruling executed in the most convenient manner, and not having done so, the Company is responsible, and the petitioner once discharged by aforesaid ruling can be no longer held responsible.[9]

Three months later the case was still pending and apparently against Father Raphael, for on July 25, 1731, he addressed the following noble appeal to Monsieurs Brusle and Bru of the Superior Council:

> Gentlemen,
>
> I have the honor to represent to you that on my arrival in the colony, not finding a school for the instruction of the youth in New Orleans, I used the utmost diligence near those who were in power to induce them to provide for so necessary an establishment; but as nothing was done, and the youth remained without instruction and education, entirely abandoned to ignorance and to the errors of its age, I thought it behooved my ministry to remedy as promptly as possible the progress of an evil so prejudicial to Religion and to the State, and it was with this in view that I agreed to retain for a school Sir Langloy's house, offered for sale two years later, as it was near the presbytery, hence gave the rector facility in supervising the education.

[9] Arch. (LHS), 31/58.



Last Page of Fr. Raphael's Appeal on Behalf of the School. The original document dated July 25, 1731, is so perforated and mutilated as to be almost illegible; it is in the possession of the Louisiana Historical Society of New Orleans.

> I assured myself that the Company of the Indies, having an agreement by its contract with the King to make all necessary expenses in the colony for the establishment of religion, would make no difficulty to enter into this, as it concerned an individual establishment, considered at all times by all civilized nations as the basis for all others. But, Gentlemen, the Directors General of the Company of the Indies thought otherwise, and here is their answer to Messrs. Perier and de la Chaise who had written to them on this subject. It is dated November 21, 1727: *The establishment of the school concerns the inhabitants only, since it is for the education of their children, it is just that they contribute to the payment of the house they have chosen for the school. The Company is willing to enter for one fourth, considering it not proper that establishments be made without its having a share therein.*[10]

This decision of the Company, obliging the inhabitants to provide the school, by no means represented the conviction of Father Raphael, but since it was the official decision, he had bowed to it and considered himself and his brethren free of further obligation to Monsieur Langloy. In his appeal he also emphasizes that Monsieur de la Chaise, the Commissary, had also favored this view and had even recommended that the Company reimburse Father Raphael for the part he had already paid. Why, then, press against the Capuchins the suit of Monsieur Langloy?

> This, Gentlemen, is what obliges me to have recourse to you, as held to pay for the Company of the Indies the agreements it contracted in the colony and which it has not carried out. I do not enter into discussion as to whether the establishment of a school concerned the said Company or the inhabitants, it is sufficient that this establishment was absolutely necessary and most essential to that of religion. On my repeated representations it behooved the Company of the Indies to use its authority to provide it, and not having done so, at this day it is to you, Gentlemen, to supply it, charging to the account the Company of the Indies owes the colony, three thousand livres that the said house cost, as well as the repairs which are necessary and which have been neglected during the six years it serves as school.
>
> At New Orleans, July 25, 1731. Fr. Raphael, *pre. Cap. Vic. Gen.*[11]

[10] Arch. (LHS), 31/91.

[11] *Ibid.*, pp. 2-3.

Messrs. Brusle and Bru, the Councillors, to whom this was addressed, proposed to consult the Superior Council for a final decision, but as Father Raphael makes no more allusion to the suit of Monsieur Langloy, it seems that the Company took it upon itself to pay for the schoolhouse.

The views of Father Raphael as to the necessity of education sound very modern and we cannot but admire the apostolic zeal and persistence with which he pursued his conviction. Happy to say, his interest in education lived on in his successors and in 1740 we find new and elaborate plans made for a school at New Orleans. On October 14, 1740, M. de Botz, instructed by Father Peter, Capuchin, rector of St. Louis Church, drew up a plan for a becoming and substantial school building. On September 29, 1740, the following plan was submitted and discussed at the Capuchin rectory:

Explanations and Details of the Plan for the School for the Poor of New Orleans.

Were personally present Messrs. Jean Baptiste Lemoyne de Bienville (Knight of the Military Order of St. Louis, Governor of the Province of Louisiana), and Edme Gratien Salmon (Councillor of the King, Commissioner of the Marine, Intendant and First Judge in the Superior Council of the Province), on one side; and the Reverend Peter (Superior of the Capuchin Fathers, Apostolic Missionaries, Priest and Rector of the Parish of New Orleans), M. Claude Vilars Du Breuil and Raymond de St. Martin Jaureyguibery (Wardens, in charge of the said parish), on the other side, who on the proposal made by Sieur Gerard Pery, wholesale merchant of this city, that it please Sieurs de Bienville and Salmon to grant him a site on St. Ann Street, formerly destined as a school for the poor, on which the house and even the fence have fallen into ruin, on the offer made by him to build in its stead a solid house to serve as a school at the place that my said Sieurs de Bienville and de Salmon, the Reverend Capuchin Father and the Wardens, will judge suitable, whereon the said Reverend Father, assisted by the said Wardens, in charge for the public good, abandon a suitable place on the lot of the rectory, to build thereon the said school-house, and my said Sieurs de Bienville and Salmon, by the authority which they hold from His Majesty, have granted and conceded to said Sr. Pery the lot facing St. Ann Street, adjoining the heirs of M. Rivart on the side of the Square, on the other side and in the rear Sr. Caron; that

Sr. Pery may possess it in full ownership on the clauses and conditions that he shall have built at his cost and expense, on the lot of the rectory, at the place marked in the plan, a building wholly of brick, measuring thirty feet in length inside, the walls sixteen inches above the foundation to the place where the timber work rests and fourteen and a half feet in width, and more if possible, according to what the situation of the lot will allow within, with two squared gables, also of masonry; to open in the said school six windows as marked in the plan, which shall be closed at such height that the scholars may not see above them in the street, shutters to said windows, a chimney, an entrance door, two writing tables, and the extent around the said school filled with a bench; the timber work above, such as is marked in the plan, the said building roofed with shingles, the rafters and girdings of the closings to serve as joists as there will be no flooring, the said building complete, key in hand, as marked in the plan, which shall remain annexed to the minute of these Presents.

Also that Sr. Pery shall have a small fence made entirely of stakes in the ground which will close the entrance door of the pupils and serve as a small yard, as marked in the plan, the whole strong and solid, complete and perfect, and subject to examination, which said intended building shall be entirely finished in the course of next year, one thousand seven hundred and forty-one at latest.

By means of which agreement made by Sr. Pery and my said Sieurs de Bienville and de Salmon, Reverend Father Superior and Wardens in charge, have consented and do consent to said exchange, Sr. Pery to possess said site as belonging to him, Sr. Pery and his heirs never to be molested thereon in any manner whatsoever, the said building being for the school for the poor, which establishment would otherwise be impossible of execution for lack of lodging, for security of all of which Sr. Pery obligates and affects all his movables, particularly the said lot which will belong to him in full ownership only after the said building shall be fully complete as has been agreed for thus promising, obligating, each in his own right, *etc.*

Done and passed in New Orleans at the presbytery of the parish, on this twentieth day of September, one thousand seven hundred and forty, in the presence of witnesses here residing, who have signed.

Bienville. Salmon. G. Pery. Du Breuil. F. Peter. Lenormand. St. Martin.[12]

[12] Archives (LHS), 23672-23675.

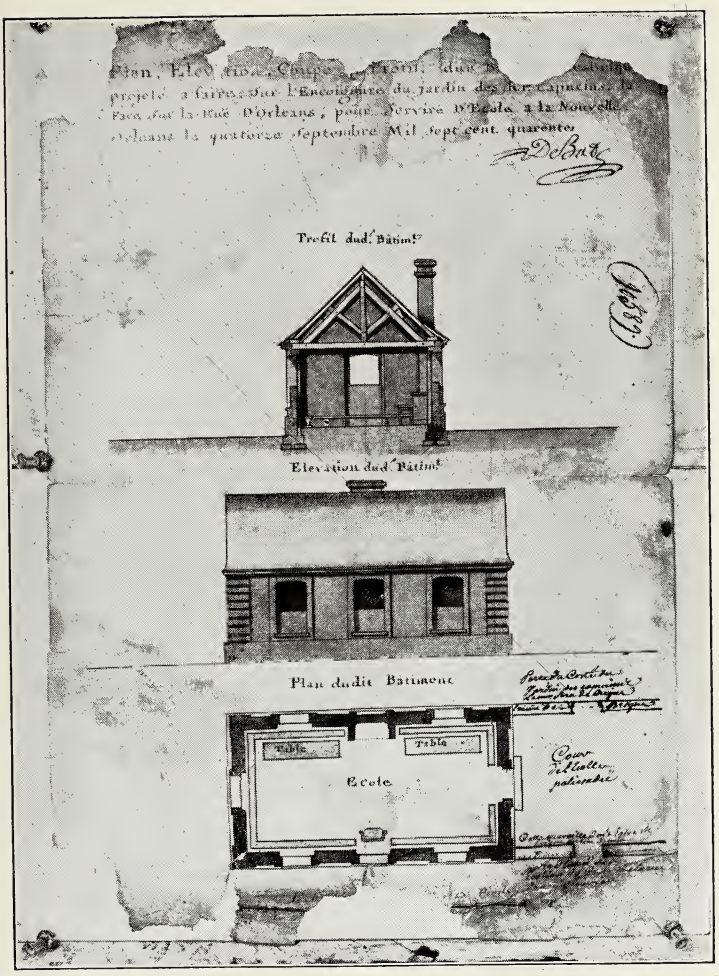
Four days later, on September 24, the same parties assembled at the rectory to amend the plans as follows:

> On this twenty-fourth day of September, one thousand seven hundred and forty, appeared before us, the undersigned Notary, to said act here transcribed, and other parties here present, Sr. Gerard Pery, who said and declared to us, that besides these conditions he has agreed by the said act to execute the plan mentioned here for the building referred to, to which he obligates himself voluntarily and of his own will to increase the conditions following the plan annexed to these Presents, on both sides of the wall which will close the schoolyard, *viz.*, that of the garden of the Reverend Capuchin Fathers, and on the opposite M. Fleuriau, . . . which will be in masonry instead of ordinary stakes, which wall shall be eight feet in length and seven feet in height over ground, and the coping above it, the remainder of the enclosure of the said yard to be of ordinary stakes as mentioned and traced in the plan. Done in the presence of the aforesaid witnesses at New Orleans.
>
> Lenormand.[13]
> G. Pery.

For some reason for which diligent research produced no document, these plans were not carried out. Four years later the following remark was written on the upper left margin of the aforesaid document: "This present act was this day annulled, New Orleans, January 5, one thousand seven hundred and forty-four." What had prevented the execution of these plans? The archives are silent. In 1741, the office of Vicar-General was taken from the Capuchins by Bishop Pontbriand and given to the Jesuits. Whether or no this loss of jurisdiction retarded and ultimately hindered the execution of the school plan is not known. Surely the brown-robed friars who from the beginning made heroic efforts in behalf of their school, did not suffer their ardor to cool. Some other discordant element must have been at work to halt the erection of a school in keeping with the growth of the colony.

While the Capuchins opened their school hard upon their arrival in New Orleans, the government allowed some thirty years to pass before making any serious effort in behalf of education. The Company of the Indies seemed to attach no importance to a duty so

[13] *Ibid.*, p. 23675.



FACSIMILE OF PLAN FOR THE CAPUCHIN SCHOOL.

essential for the welfare of the colony. To start a movement for any public good always necessitated persistent complaints and demands on the part of the people before the Company would respond. Finally, however, in 1727, a school for girls was established at New Orleans, due not so much to the interest of the Company as to the efforts of the Jesuit, Father de Beaubois, who as Superior of the missions in Upper Louisiana, came in frequent contact with the government officials at New Orleans. These authorities had first decided to found a hospital at New Orleans, and to place it in charge of the Gray Nuns. But happily, Father de Beaubois intervened in good time and suggested the application for Ursuline Nuns who would both teach in school and nurse in the hospital.

Ursulines had been established in Quebec for well-nigh a century and their fidelity and charity were far-famed. With the consent of the Company, Bishop Saint Vallier and Coadjutor Bishop de Mornay, Father de Beaubois went to France in 1725 and recruited the Ursulines of Rouen for school and hospital work in New Orleans.[14] A contract was signed by the Company and the Ursulines on September 13, 1726, and approved by the King on September 18, of the same year. The number of Sisters to be maintained by the Company was fixed at six, not counting four servants whose passage to the colony was also to be paid by the Company. These Sisters were to manage the domestic affairs of the hospital and maintain a free school for the poor. On February 22, 1727, Mother St. Augustine Tranchepain, with eight professed nuns, a novice and two postulants sailed on the *Gironde* from L'Orient. Two Jesuit priests, Father d'Outreleau and Tartarin, and Brother Crucy, also a Jesuit, accompanied them.

After a stormy voyage, fraught with many dangers, the little group arrived at New Orleans on August 17, 1727. Father de Beaubois, returned sometime before, escorted them to their temporary dwelling, Bienville's old home, at the extreme end of the city in the square bounded by Chartres, Royal, Bienville and Conti Streets. With the settlement of the Ursulines in New Orleans dates the first convent of Sisters within the present limits of the United States. Here they began their work of education and charity which

[14] Rochemonteix, P. Camille de, S. J., *Les Jesuites et la Nouvelle-France au XVIIIe Siècle*, I, pp. 284-287, Paris, 1906.

has continued under five different national flags in its existence of two centuries. But the six months in which the Sisters' new buildings were promised passed and so, too, did as many years before their convent was completed. The Ursulines had come to New Orleans when the colony was in a political and ecclesiastical upheaval, consequent upon the fall of the Bienville Regime, and the pretensions of Father de Beaubois. The latter, writing to the Abbé Raguet on May 6, 1728, draws a vivid picture of the Ursulines and their work amid most adverse circumstances:

> *Sir,*
>
> I do not doubt that the superioress who had the honor to write you, has sent you a long report regarding the affairs of her Community and has given an exact account of what they do here. It is a large house that gives me now much concern, and I must make great expenses for it to come off with honors against all kinds of obstacles. There are now here, sixteen girl-boarders, seven Negresses, likewise boarders, and twenty-five day pupils. They may do ever so little justice to our poor religious in the letters they write to the Company, yet you must never regret the expense for their establishment, and if they would thank me for anything, let them in France credit to my honor what these Sisters do here and the service they render. The great good which they do by liberally educating so many children and slaves, has won them the respect and love of all the people.
>
> In fact, their conduct is irreproachable and they spare themselves in nothing to be useful to the colony. They consult neither their strength nor their means, they are overburdened with work, and although it is far beyond their means, they nevertheless, keep gratis orphans who had been entirely forsaken or in very bad hands. These poor girls are entirely dependent on the Sisters, for even the allowance which they received from the Company while they stayed with the bad women from whom I have taken them, has now been cut off. Yet nothing would be more just [than to restore that allowance].[15]

For some reason of which we are not directly informed Monsieur de la Chaise, supervisor of the Company's store, was opposed to the Ursulines. We surmise that his animosity proceeded from the fact

[15] Paris Arch. Col., C13A11, f. 256.

that they were intimately associated with Father de Beaubois, who was his political enemy. Touching upon this topic, Father de Beaubois continues:

> But our Ladies [the Sisters] have the misfortune to be in my hands and from that moment they become unworthy of any favor. They discovered this more than ever during the last eight days, and in a short time they will be obliged to hand in a petition to the Council to draw from the magazine what they need, independently of Mr. de la Chaise.
>
> I believe I have informed you of what his son and daughter have done at my arrival here. His daughter tried to disunite the Community [of Sisters] and to stir up a revolt against the superioress and me. His son attempted to debauch a Sister and started an intrigue with her. I still have in hand the letters which I guard very safely. M. de la Chaise was informed of this, but far from doing justice in the matter, he only laughed at it. This gave us an unequivocal proof of his ill-will. I am convinced that someone has coached him and that he is not of his own choice so hostile towards a number of chosen women, surely full of merit, and whom he has not yet learnt to know. They [the Sisters] were made to feel in whom they have placed their trust. This is not smart politics, and I believe they [the Ursulines] are the first religious in the world to be gained in such an extraordinary way.[16]

Disheartened at the unfortunate conditions in New Orleans, the Ursulines remembered the kindly reception they had received at San Domingo, where they stopped on their voyage to Louisiana and where the Commandant himself tried to induce them to establish a school. The inhabitants, too, had sent them presents, among which was a barrel of sugar weighing three hundred pounds.[17] Referring to the possibility of the Jesuits leaving Louisiana, Father de Beaubois says of the Ursulines:

> They are very much alarmed over the present situation of affairs and of the step I am forced to take. You will be surprised to hear that they have determined to come to the same extreme measure in case we [Jesuits] are obliged to leave, and to accept the rich establishment which they are offered at San Domingo. One mission is as good as another, they say. Is it not better to prefer those [missions] where we can do more

[16] *Ibid.*

[17] *Quarterly* (LH), II, p. 9.

> good and will not be crossed; where our conscience will not be strained; where we shall not be compelled to place ourselves under the guidance and rule of people whom we do not like and where, finally, we can establish ourselves without burdening ourselves with debt? They foresee what they shall have to fear in future, and will they find the same resources they have hitherto found and which they are sure to find in me so long as I remain with them? [18]

After a few years better days dawned for the Sisters. The new convent begun in 1727, at a cost of one million francs, was completed in 1734, and the Sisters took possession of it on July 17 of the same year. Towards five o'clock in the evening the convent bells rang a merry peal announcing the Sisters' departure from Bienville's old home. All assembled in the little chapel for the last time and Benediction was given by the Capuchin, Father Philip, assisted by the Jesuit Fathers, Petit and de Beaubois. Then all left the chapel in processional order, the citizens opening the march, followed by the children of the orphanage and the day school; next came more than forty of the most respectable ladies of that city, about twenty little girls in white followed by a young lady impersonating St. Ursula and accompanied by eleven others representing her host of martyred virgins. Last of all came the nuns and the clergy; the former bearing lighted tapers, and the latter, a rich canopy under which the Blessed Sacrament was borne in triumph. On each side of the procession was a military escort accompanying the singing with music. As soon as the procession was in sight of the new convent the bells chimed forth welcoming the Sisters to their new home.[19]

[18] *Ibid.*

[19] *Ursuline Annals.* Translated by Heloise Cruzat in the *Quarterly* (LH), II, p. 13. The Ursuline convent and hospital to which the Sisters moved in 1734, are still standing on Chartres Street between Ursuline and Hospital Streets, and are the oldest buildings in the Mississippi Valley. The Sisters occupied these quarters till 1824, when they moved to their new convent on the Mississippi. After their removal the Ursulines handed over their convent to Bishop Du Bourg and his successors for residence. The old convent served this purpose till the time of Archbishop Chapelle who moved to the corner of Esplanade and St. Claude Streets. Since 1919, the Oblates of Mary Immaculate, in charge of St. Mary's Church, built in 1845 on the playgrounds of the Ursuline convent, have fitted

With the opening of the Ursuline School, the first Sisters' school in the United States, an educational record was begun which today is one of the glories of the American Church. Burns has given us a detailed description of the school life of the Ursulines during the first century of their existence. The school day was short, only four hours; the vacation period lasted three weeks. Reading, writing and arithmetic, with Christian doctrine and manual training made up the programme of the day. "Some features of the Ursuline system of teaching," he says, "were surprisingly modern, and throw a new light upon the educational ideas and methods of the period." One of these interesting features was the employment of pupil-teachers, called in the Rules *dizainieres,* thus antedating by many years the Lancaster-Bell system. The monitors were selected from among the most talented and best-behaved girls, and their duty was to assist the teachers in classwork and in the maintenance of discipline. In the Ursuline School a great deal of time was devoted to industrial work. In fact, this was a feature of the Ursuline School everywhere. The pupils were taught to knit and to stitch, to mend and make their own clothes as well as other articles of utility for the household. While the pupils were thus engaged, a Sister or sometimes a pupil would read from an interesting and instructive book. The Ursuline School was supported by the French Government and when Louisiana was ceded to Spain the support was continued by that government. It is remarkable that the Ursulines survived all the changes, political and ecclesiastical, which followed so rapidly in the province.[20]

The service of the Ursulines was not confined to their work of teaching, but as had been stipulated in their treaty with the Company, they also took charge of the Military Hospital. At first the Company had intended to combine the convent and hospital in the same building, but upon representations of Father de Beaubois, a separate building was constructed in the rear of the convent on what is now Decatur Street. Hither the sick were brought in 1734.[21]

out a section of the convent for their residence. The upper story remains unchanged and the original cells, coated with the dust of years, may still be seen.

[20] Burns, James A., *The Catholic School System in the United States: Its Principles, Origin and Establishment,* pp. 77-79, New York, 1908.

[21] *Quarterly* (LH), I, p. 97.

Under the able management of the Ursulines, the hospital gave general satisfaction. Sister St. Xavier Hebert became head infirmarian and so successfully did she and her assistant Sisters acquit themselves of their duties, that the inspectors of the government were often heard to say: "It is quite useless to continue our inspections. . . . The skill and devotedness of the religious leave nothing to be desired." [22] Though the usual number of patients ranged from thirty to forty, nevertheless the Sisters had as many as fifty sick and disabled soldiers in their care. Not the least good accomplished by the nuns at the hospital was the moral improvement of many who had come merely for the alleviation of bodily suffering. In the hearts of many the light of faith, quenched by the writings of Voltaire and other French infidels, was rekindled by the Christlike charity of the nuns. During the first fourteen months after the hospital was opened, no less than thirty soldiers died in sentiments of regained faith and compunction.[23]

The Ursulines continued their management of the Military Hospital till 1770, when their small number and the difficulty to obtain reinforcements from France compelled them to relinquish their charge.[24] The part they played as first educators and first infirmarians will ever stand out prominently in the pages of Louisiana history.

The second hospital which was established in New Orleans within a few years of the first was the generous gift of Jean Louis, a sailor in the employ of the Company, who died in 1736 and left his possessions for the founding of a charity hospital for the poor. In accord with the Pastor of New Orleans and the executor of the will, Messrs. Bienville and Salmon purchased Mrs. Koly's house, situated on a large tract at the extremity of the city and formerly inhabited by the Ursulines. This house was fitted out with beds, clothing and all utensils pertaining to a hospital. After these expenses there still remained five thousand piasters of the sailor's estate which, added to the aid contributed by the inhabitants, was devoted to the building of a spacious brick hall to serve as a recreation centre for convalescents. It was also expected that this new

[22] Anonymous, *The Ursulines in New Orleans*, 1727-1925, p. 25, New York, 1925.

[23] *Ibid.*, p. 26.

[24] *Quarterly*, (LH), I, p. 92.

addition would be gradually so equipped as to supplant the Koly House, already impaired with age.

At the opening of the Charity Hospital five patients were admitted and the Capuchin Fathers of New Orleans acted as chaplains. On the suggestion of Bienville and Salmon the new building was also used as a place of detention for homeless beggars. Here they were employed according to their capacity, receiving board and lodging in return. In this way the number of beggars was diminished, as most of them preferred work to loss of freedom. This Charity Hospital answered a timely need in New Orleans, for it relieved the Military Hospital, where the Ursulines were often compelled to open their doors to the poor who without their aid would have perished of want. In 1779, this second hospital was destroyed by a terrible hurricane which devastated New Orleans. Five years later it was supplanted by the new Charity Hospital of San Carlos, erected by the munificence of the Spanish grandee, Don Andres Almonester y Roxas.[25]

The foundation of schools and hospitals in colonial New Orleans does credit to their noble patrons, particularly the three religious communities of Capuchins, Jesuits and Ursulines. The Capuchins through Father Raphael are to the forefront with their school for boys in 1724; the Jesuits through Father de Beaubois inspire the girls' academy of 1727; and the Ursulines by furnishing teachers and nurses contribute to the establishment of both school and hospital in 1727. The visit which Father de Beaubois made to France in 1725, to obtain the Ursulines for the school and hospital, was also the occasion of a new treaty between the Jesuits and the Company. This treaty was to exercise a profound influence on both Church and State in Louisiana for the next forty years.

[25] *Ibid.*, p. 96-97.

CHAPTER V

Coming of the Jesuits to New Orleans, 1726

After the turmoil of 1723, consequent on the Company's limiting the jurisdiction of the Capuchins to the Natchez, it might be expected that years would elapse before any new alteration would be made. The Decree of June 27, 1725, had bidden fair to this conviction when it stated so clearly that without the consent of the Capuchins *no other priests or religious shall be established in Louisiana.* The fires of resentment over the division made in 1723 were still smoldering, when the wind of a new change in the Mission began gently but steadily to fan them into a new conflagration. There was question now of making a new treaty with the Jesuits in reference to the missions of the Indians. On December 14, 1725, Raguet very cautiously sounded the note of warning to Father Raphael:

Reverend Father,

I am very much obliged to you for the news which you have so kindly communicated to me. You will see from the orders of the Company that in regard to the Capuchins, it omits nothing which might contribute to their satisfaction.

We wish very ardently that the state of your Province of Champagne were such that it would correspond to your zeal and needs. Your insistent demand for Letters Patent and our granting them presupposed that your Province would be prolific in subjects capable of assisting you. The answers of the Father Provincial are very contrary to this flattering expectation. However, the glory of God and the efficiency of the Company will demand precise measures and I foresee that such measures may be forced upon it.

Do not believe, however, that the Company could forget the hardships and difficulties you have borne in establishing the good order which is to your credit. Hitherto your labors have been restricted to the French and it will be only just that the vineyard you have cleared with much fatigue and which your authority maintains, be still reserved for you. But contrary to my will, we are almost sure that your Province will not be able to furnish the subjects needed for the savages. Thus it

appears we shall be forced to make another partition between you and the Jesuits, but certainly New Orleans and the other French posts, the portions of the flock dearest to you, will remain under your jurisdiction in case of a change. . . .

I beg you to be fully persuaded of the true respect with which I have the honor to be, Reverend Father,

The Director of the Company,
Abbé Raguet.[1]

Abbé Raguet had now in mind the appointment of the Jesuits to all Indian posts, even to those in the Capuchin territory. The reason he assigns for this step is the same given for the partition of 1723, namely, the failure of the Capuchins to supply the necessary quota of missionaries. That the Capuchins were short of men, Father Raphael readily admits. Writing to the Abbé on May 18, 1726, he says:

I cannot refrain, Sir, from expressing my surprise at the attitude our Provincial has taken in regard to our mission. When I left the Province, all were of the impression that about twelve priests had to be sent there, and this number would also be sufficient for the present state of the colony. We have had as yet never more than eight at any time, including a Recollect who ministers to the Apalaches. Death has carried away two before the arrival of others to take their places. Today we are reduced to five Capuchins and one Recollect owing to the departure of Father Christopher who was forced by old age and illness to leave, and Father Claude whom I have sent back on account of the little satisfaction he has given by his conduct. It is true that hitherto I have not greatly urged the Province to send me a larger number of missionaries, because I do not know where to place them. Of eight posts where the Company maintains missionaries in our district, only three have priest-houses, *i. e.,* New Orleans, Mobile and Natchez, and in the last-named place there is no church.[2]

[1] Paris Arch. Col., C13A8, f. 426-427 bis.

[2] *Ibid.,* C13A10, f. 44. Incidentally, this Father Christopher who left Louisiana in 1726 was Christopher of Chaumont, one of the first three Capuchins who came to Louisiana in 1722. Both he and Father Claude are unknown to Shea and Otto Jeron. One of those who died was Bruno of Langres, the other is unknown.

Later, Father Raphael made a more decided effort to influence his Province to increase the missionary personnel.

> Since the principal or rather sole motive which compels me to send Father Hyacinth to France is to induce our Superiors either to send us missionaries whom we need or to give up the mission, I beg you, Sir, to be so kind as to help to settle this matter as quickly as possible, so that I shall know soon what to do and that I can quiet my conscience about the loss of many souls who live without being instructed and die without the sacraments for want of [a priest] who could give both kinds of assistance. I assure you, Sir, that this consideration often gives me pain. True it is that God demands of us only what we can do, but do we not sometimes deceive ourselves?[3]

This is the remark of a truly pious and zealous priest. But the Province of Champagne was small and unfruitful of subjects at this time and with the best of will the Father Provincial could spare no men for the Mission. However, the Jesuits, too, felt the need of more men and Father Raphael feared they would not be in a position to fill all the Indian posts. Speaking frankly on this point, he said to the head of the Company:

> Permit me, Sir, to tell you candidly my opinion about the course the Company will pursue, namely, the giving to the Jesuit Fathers the Indian missions of our district. It is true, the whole thing should be indifferent to us, provided Jesus Christ be preached to these poor people, and I can assure you, Sir, that I would be at the height of my wishes, if I could devote myself entirely to this work together with other evangelic laborers whom Providence would destine to such a holy enterprise. Yet I fear greatly that the Jesuit Fathers promise more than they can keep. I know that they are just as short of men as we are, that they have not half the number they need to man their mission on the Island of San Domingo, where for want of priests of their Society, they have their parishes served by secular priests, even navy chaplains who wish to settle there, among whom there are such (as I have seen myself) whom I would not want to employ, but they take them as vicars and keep them as long as they see fit. They lack men for their missions of the Illinois, Arkansas, Yazoos and other Indians who live in their district, and I doubt it very much

[3] *Ibid.*, f. 325.

> whether they will find enough to satisfy their needs. However, I wish that this project may realize to the glory of God and the salvation of souls.[4]

Might not this frank opinion of the Capuchin contain a vague hint that the real and genuine reason for introducing the Jesuits into the Capuchin Mission is other than that given? If the Capuchins lacked missionaries, so, too, did the Jesuits, hence why disturb the existing order? Whether or not Father Raphael sensed it, the real reason for giving the Indian Missions to the Jesuits was rather of a political than an ecclesiastical nature, as Abbé Raguet openly admitted to Count Maurepas, Minister of the Navy:

> Allow me, Sir, to detail in the present conjuncture my own remarks:
>
> 1) It is necessary to establish missionaries among the savages. We have dared to diminish our troops on the supposition that they will be granted. They are, therefore, essential.
>
> 2) The first missionaries must be placed among *the savages who separate us from the English,* and since the latter try incessantly to gain them in order to stir them up against us, it is absolutely necessary that the missionaries sent to them, be men of spirit, active, alert.
>
> 3) Among the religious bodies of the whole world *the Jesuits alone are such,* therefore, we need them.
>
> 4) We can only use such as know the colony. Others who do not know the country could neither render much service themselves, nor direct the newcomers with becoming experience, especially, in the new establishments.[5]

This is a revelation, accustomed as we are to read in current histories that the sole reason for assigning the Indian Missions of Louisiana to the Jesuits was because the Capuchins lacked the men. The great problem confronting the French was, how to live in peace with the many tribes of Indians. The latter were always suspicious of the French and as time went on became more hostile and more bold in their demand for gifts. The first serious outburst of hostility by the Indians against the French occurred in 1722, when a party of Chickasaws surprised a French settlement by night and wounded several of the colony. From time to time, too, the

[4] *Ibid.*, f. 45.

[5] *Ibid.*, F5A3, f. 172.

Natchez Indians gave evidence of deep-seated hatred towards the French, preparing the way for the general massacre of 1729. Now it was thought that the gentle but persuasive presence of the Black Robe could not fail to exercise a refining influence on Indian passion. "We have dared," said the President of the Company, "to diminish our troops on the supposition that they will be granted." The chief purpose, therefore, in sending the Jesuits to the Indians of Louisiana was not only to win their souls to Christ, but also to act as mediators between the French and savages.

Missionaries were especially demanded among the Indians separating the French and English. The perennial rivalry between these two nations in America is well known. The fact that in 1698 England had planned a settlement of French Protestants along the Gulf coast and William Penn another along the Ohio urged the French to renew their efforts for colonization.[6] This rivalry was fostered throughout the years and developed into professional jealousy. Cunning as serpents, the English soldiers sought to weaken the French position by attacking them through the Indians. In the early days of Louisiana when Sauvolle was Commandant, the English from Carolina had incited the Chickasaws between the Upper Alabama and the Yazoo Rivers to rebel against the French. The danger of disaster to the colony was averted only through costly treaties concluded with these natives. But the Anglo-Indian danger was ever present. English traders had crept in among the Natchez, Choctaws, Yazoos, and especially among the small tribes near the French posts. Indian chiefs had also accepted invitations to visit the English settlement in Carolina.[7]

With keen sagacity the French watched the movements of the English, fearing their encroachments upon Alabama and Florida where, if the Spanish yielded, the enemy would find an open door to the west and south and could soon surround the French possession of Louisiana. The French would then be left hanging as it were from Canada on the thread of the Mississippi, a thread that could be broken in a score of places by the English or Anglo-

[6] Franz, Alexander, *Die Kolonization des Mississippitales*, p. 56, Leipzig, 1906.

[7] King, Grace, *Jean Baptiste le Moyne Sieur de Bienville*, p. 209, New York 1892.

Indians.[8] Tired of the English machination with the Indians, Abbé Raguet sought to combat it with the aid of the missionaries. Hence he contended that

> the first missionaries must be placed among the savages who separate us from the English, and since the latter try incessantly to gain them in order to stir them up against us, it is absolutely necessary that the missionaries sent to them, be men of spirit, active, alert and since among the religious bodies of the whole world the Jesuits alone are such, we therefore need them.

The Jesuits are, therefore, necessary to neutralize the British machinations and keep the Indians loyal to the French.

But who of the Jesuits will be available to direct these Indian missionaries? Abbé Raguet continues in his letter to Count Maurepas:

> The Jesuits have actually only three men who know Louisiana, namely, two with the Illinois and Father de Beaubois. The two first are good men, as I believe, but . . . neither of them would completely satisfy our wishes.[9]

Father de Beaubois, then, was the only choice left. The character of Father de Beaubois is as interesting as it is varied. Born at Orleans, France, on October 15, 1689, in his eighteenth year, on October 27, 1706, he entered the Society of Jesus. In 1718, we find him in Canada ready for the American Missions. The Jesuit Camille de Rochemonteix characterizes Father de Beaubois as follows:

> Health, talent, spirit of duty and sacrifice, none of these were wanting to him. But the perfect men are rare. Of a vivacious and buoyant nature, of a sanguine temperament, he did not always succeed in checking his all-absorbing activity, and in keeping within the bounds of reserve and moderation.[10]

A man of extremes, he was too outspoken and lacking in self-control. " He spoke too much, wrote too much, undertook too much,"

[8] *Ibid.*, p. 116.

[9] Paris Arch. Col., F5A3, f. 172.

[10] Rochemonteix, P. Camille de, S. J., *Les Jesuites et la Nouvelle-France au XVIIIe Siècle*, I, p. 281, Paris, 1906.

said Governor Perier to Abbé Raguet in a letter dated April 25, 1727.[11] But if too vivacious and imprudent at times, he was, nevertheless, zealous and devoted to his duty. He was an apostle, burning with zeal, calculating neither his forces nor resources when there was question of assisting another. He was, however, too impetuous. His imperfections, the result of his good qualities, caused him many annoyances, as we shall see, and drew upon him evil judgments, false and outrageous accusations.[12] In 1720, Father de Beaubois had gone to the Illinois, where he became Superior of the Jesuit Mission and Vicar-General of the Bishop of Quebec. In 1725, shortly after the Capuchins received the Royal Letters Patent for the Louisiana Mission, Father de Beaubois returned to France to recruit sisters for the school and hospital at New Orleans. Arriving in France in August, 1725, he succeeded in obtaining the services of Ursuline Nuns for New Orleans and in establishing himself as Superior of the Indian Mission proposed for the Jesuits by Abbé Raguet.

At first Father de Beaubois was not acceptable to the Company. This is made clear from the discussion between Abbé Raguet and Count de Maurepas, Minister of the Marine. The latter authorized the Abbé to visit personally Father d'Avaugour, Procurator of the Jesuit Mission, and request that another Father be appointed superior of their missions in America. In a letter of January 27, 1726, to Maurepas, Abbé Raguet describes his interview as follows:

> *Sir,*
>
> When I left your Highness, I went last Friday according to your orders to the Jesuit College. There I found neither Father d'Avaugour nor Father de Beaubois, but I had a talk with Father Poirée, a man very influential in the Society and otherwise full of candor. I explained to him the state of affairs and asked him, whether we could not have another negotiator and superior of the missions in preference to Father de Beaubois. He told me that the Jesuits study one another very well, that Father de Beaubois was not known among them as I had pictured him, that no other person could take his place, that, to be confidential with me, *the Jesuits were not in the least bent on new establishments,* that moreover, Father de Beaubois was so thoroughly acquainted with the situation of

[11] *Ibid.*, p. 281.

[12] *Ibid.*, p. 281-282.

the Company's affairs in the colony, that it would be better policy to enlist him for their interests.

Meanwhile, Fathers d'Avaugour and de Beaubois had gone to our quarters seeking me. They met me after dinner. When I had finished my report, in which I disguised nothing, Father d'Avaugour, a man as natural as I had the honor to describe him to you, told me repeatedly that the Jesuits would not take charge of the missions in Louisiana if Father de Beaubois could not govern them.

The latter on his part looked at me crest-fallen, mortified. I perceived in a moment two things: the first, that I would make better progress with any other negotiator who might be just as alert; the second, that he was sensitive to correction. I contented myself with asking him to write me plainly about the deed for which he is reproached, and I did not conceal from him that it was this act which had made the deepest impression on Your Highness who would draw unhappy consequences therefrom, if he would remain in his place for the future. I just now received a letter from him on this affair.

What seems to me should extenuate the fault is, that his servant or so-called Frère Donne was not on the list of inhabitants who had to mount guard; that, nevertheless, he always allowed him to serve in urgent cases and that the watch on said day was a purely ordinary affair; that he did not refuse the Commandant but only the Chief of Militia, some sort of peasant, the Commandant being then absent; that he retired to a place not far away and that his retirement did not last an entire month; that even during that time he went back continually to assist a sick inhabitant whom he left neither day nor night during his last ten days of life and to whom he gave the last Sacraments; that upon the Commandant's return, the Chief of Militia was suspended, by order of M. de Boisbriant who otherwise has little love for the Jesuits. Justice, therefore, animated him.

Permit me, Sir, to add a short observation to this detailed story. It is evident that if Father de Beaubois would have mildly submitted to what we want in the affair we have with the Jesuits, we should not have cast up to him his American misdeed in any other way than as a reminder to do better in future, and we should not have considered that misdeed in the least a reason for rupture.

At the same time that Father de Beaubois sent me his letter, I received a sort of declaration from Father d'Avaugour, in which he reiterates in writing what he had told me orally and what I had the honor to state at the beginning of this letter.

> I find, moreover, in the same paper several reflections similar to those of Father Poirée.[13]

From this it is clear that Father de Beaubois had incurred the displeasure of the Company owing to some misdeed he had been guilty of in the Illinois Mission. The government had decided to remove him from that post, but the Jesuits insisted on his being sent back to the mission. In the explanation offered by Father de Beaubois there were some extenuating circumstances, in recognition of which the government agreed to overlook the matter. Dismissing the subject, Abbé Raguet finally says:

> I must confess, Sir, that this series of considerations has an effect on me, and that if your Highness will direct me, I shall renew a particular negotiation with Father de Beaubois. I should have later the honor to submit to Your Highness the project for a treaty.[14]

The Company finally made the treaty with the Jesuits on February 26, 1726, Father de Beaubois signing with the Provincial and Procurator. By virtue of this treaty the Capuchins were to retain all the French posts while the Jesuits received jurisdiction over the Indians. By another article Father de Beaubois received permission, reluctantly given, to establish himself at New Orleans, a French post and therefore under the spiritual jurisdiction of the Capuchin Superior, who at the same time was Vicar-General of the Bishop of Quebec. Father de Beaubois had pleaded that it was necessary for him to reside in New Orleans to provide for the needs of his missionaries scattered throughout the settlements of the savages. However, it was expressly stipulated in the treaty that Father de Beaubois could exercise no ecclesiastical functions at New Orleans without the consent of the Capuchin Vicar-General.[15] Thus did the Company safeguard its original agreement with the Capuchins, without whose consent no other religious or priests should be sent to their field. On April 8, 1726, Father de Beaubois himself wrote to Father Raphael, the Capuchin Vicar-General, announcing the coming of the Jesuits, but presaging nothing but

[13] Paris Arch. Col., F5A3, f. 171-173.

[14] *Ibid.*, f. 173.

[15] Paris Arch. Col., F5A3, f. 228-229.

peace for the missionaries themselves, and the promotion of God's glory among the Indians:

Reverend Father,

You will learn by this ship of the conclusion of the treaty which the Company of the Indies contrived to conclude with us and of which you have been apprised by the last vessel. No change was made in the old destination of the posts which had been divided between you, Reverend Fathers and us, except that the post of the Alibamons and the missions of the Choctas to be yet established, were added. Providence has happily assigned to me a goodly number of missionaries who seem to be good subjects, so that I shall be able to fill all our posts even in the first year. For my part, I shall in future be a useless laborer solely occupied *not with the functions of a missionary but with those of a procurator.*

I shall remain in New Orleans, where I shall provide for the needs of the missionaries, so that they will not run the risk, as happened hitherto at the Illinois, of lacking the most necessary things in default of having someone of us residing in New Orleans who would be able to succor them. The need of this has appeared so pressing to the Company that it has decided thereon, notwithstanding all that could have been written about it beforehand, and the other difficulties that turned up. *But I shall be there as a private man and a simple inhabitant without exercising any function, and I have willingly promised not even to use the powers there which I shall give to others.*

This clause which I have proposed to the Company to insert expressly into our treaty, the manner in which I have spoken to you in particular, Reverend Father, will evidently prove to everyone who wants to do me justice that I have never had any of those ideas which are ascribed to me and which seem to me to be unworthy of a priest and a religious. I have always had, Reverend Father, a particular veneration for your Community and I shall not miss an occasion to accord you the perfect estimation which I have in particular for you, to merit your friendship, to do as much as I can, even as I have already done it in the past, to augment the respect due to you and the confidence to be placed in you.

They spoke several times at the Company that three of your Fathers would be ready to leave in the month of July. This, I assure you, would please me very much and I shall try to do them all the small favors which may be in my power. I reckon also, Reverend Father, that you will be so kind as to help me

as much as you can in all the establishments I have yet to make, to aid me with your confidence and your advice. I beg you most insistently to do everything that all your Reverend Fathers live in peace and in perfect union with all the Jesuits. We are all transplanted for the same cause, we are all servants of the same Master. We ought to live, as if we belonged to the same company so that the charity of Jesus Christ which alone maintains us in our duties may unite us perfectly. With your permission I express my respects and from my whole heart I greet all your Reverend Fathers.

I have the honor to be with all possible esteem and respect, Reverend Father,

Your most obedient servant,

N. I. de Beaubois.[16]

The sentiments of Father de Beaubois, as expressed in this letter; sound cordial enough but rather too profuse. One sentence is very significant: "This clause which I have proposed to the Company to insert expressly into our treaty, the manner in which I have spoken to you in particular, Reverend Father, will evidently prove to everyone who wants to do me justice that I have never had any of those ideas which are ascribed to me and which seem to me to be unworthy of a priest and a religious." To what ideas did he refer? Without a precise knowledge of those ideas ascribed to him, the reader can only conjecture that suspicion had been raised against him in some quarters. For the rest, a valuable piece of information is contained in the remark that in July 1726, three more Capuchins were ready to depart for Louisiana. Just who these three Capuchins were is not known, probably Fathers Theodore and Philip, and the deacon, Fr. Cyril are meant, since their names appear on the reports of 1727 and 1728.[17] It is interesting to note the reaction of the Capuchins who now saw the Jesuits encroaching still more on their territory. Alarmed especially at the concession made Father de Beaubois to reside in New Orleans, Father Raphael wrote to Bishop de Mornay and to Abbé Raguet. The contents of these two letters are given succinctly in the letter of June 3, 1726, written by Bishop de Mornay to Abbé Raguet:

[16] *Ibid.*, C13A10, f. 60.

[17] Paris Arch. Col., B43, f. 775, and *Ibid.*, C13A10, ff. 178-181.

You have received, Sir, a letter from R. P. Raphael. He informs me that he has written to you at the same time as to me, that he speaks to you only succinctly about the Reverend Jesuit Fathers, that, however, *so many troubles have arisen since the departure of Rev. Father de Beaubois* that, if they [the Jesuits] should be established in New Orleans, he is ready to return to France or to go to some Indian tribe to convert it to the Catholic religion. He had already touched on this subject in his previous letters, but I had nothing to reply, because I had always found the Gentlemen of the Company of the Indies very much opposed to such an establishment. It was they who wanted the Capuchins and those of the Champagne Province. They have done this without my participation, the Capuchins fearing when going there what happens today. If they have insisted on obtaining Letters Patent, it was only to dispel their fear. They are there now, and must either be maintained there or recalled.

Would the Jesuit Fathers take it proper if the Capuchins would go to Illinois or other places where they [the Jesuits] are established? The Directors made me take the part of the Capuchins whenever I have taken any side. I do not swerve therefrom, and I try not to be deceived by false pretexts which might mislead me. Whatever gives occasion to quarrels will never produce any good to religion, and I am not the one who will occasion them. *I believe it to be useless to tell you all that has happened since the departure of the Reverend P. de Beaubois from the land of the Sieur du Breville, which he wanted to buy; of the secrecy he has demanded regarding the promises he made to this person and that person; of the suspension of work on the priest-house and at other places till his return, because he was to be put in possession of everything and it was his business to direct everything even before he was there.* We shall see therefore [what he will do] when he will be there. But I shall be far from lending a helping hand to this as long as they [the Capuchins] shall remain there whom the Company has sent. In this tenor I shall write to him and also the Sister [Ursuline] to whom I have not yet written an answer. I am convinced that the Sisters will do good there, but I believe they should be under the jurisdiction of the Ordinary. To equalize matters, the Superior of New Orleans [the Vicar-General] should be admitted as administrator of the Indian Missions. It seems to me that Father Raphael acquits himself pretty well of this charge, so that nothing unpleasant should be caused him. I pass over the other difficulties which have arisen. I believe he has

written to you, expecting that, since you have heretofore been very much satisfied with him, you will give him the satisfaction he demands, and that you will take to heart the interests of a man who works with such zeal. I also pray you to do this for him, being with as much affection as respect,

Your most humble and obedient servant,

Sir,

Francis Louis de Mornay, *Coadjutor Bishop of Quebec.*[18]

This letter of Bishop de Mornay, so far as we know, has never been published. Brief though it be, it reveals several facts hitherto unknown. It makes clear that the Capuchin Fathers looked upon the treaty of the Company with the Jesuits with a fear that later proved prophetic. Father Raphael, the Vicar-General, was so agitated over the permission accorded Father de Beaubois to reside in New Orleans, that to avoid trouble which he seemed to sense, he declared himself ready either to resign and return to France, or to seclude himself among the Indians for their conversion. Nor were those fears groundless. Father de Beaubois had hardly left Louisiana for France to obtain Sisters for the colony, when his projects became known. Before sailing he had tarried in New Orleans, making preparations and plans to reside there permanently, even procuring a house [19] and making promises as if it were a foregone conclusion that he would be established there. This is perhaps what he referred to when in his letter of April 8, 1726, to Father Raphael he said: "I have never had any of those ideas which are ascribed to me and which seem to me to be unworthy of a priest and a religious."

At any rate, we see from this letter that neither Bishop de Mornay nor the Company were in favor of the Jesuit house at New Orleans, but their opposition was overcome by Abbé Raguet and Count Maurepas who with Father de Beaubois seem to be the prime movers in the Jesuit treaty. Bishop de Mornay, if he gave his consent at all, did so reluctantly, as his letter shows. The treaty had been concluded four months ago and the Coadjutor, fearing the worst, would have it rescinded. "To equalize matters,"

[18] Paris Arch. Col., C13A10, f. 33-34.

[19] Paris Arch. Col. Series XI, Vol. 464, "New Orleans, Rue Chartres: House belonging to Jesuits where nobody lives." Census 1726.

he proposes that the Capuchin Superior at New Orleans be Administrator of the Indian Missions, so that, as the Jesuits have come into the Capuchin Mission, they should come as subjects to the Capuchin Vicar-General. Abbé Raguet, however, was little inclined to share the views of Bishop de Mornay. Shortly after, the Abbé wrote a long undated letter to the Bishop of Quebec, decrying the unapostolic attitude of Father Raphael:

Your Lordship,

When Father Raphael writes me about the affairs of the colony in general, I always find him a reasonable and level-headed man; but when he touches on his own affairs and those of his brethren, he is by far not so reasonable. There is no measure which the Company of the Indies has not tried in order to accommodate itself to their conditions. When I entered the Company, they demanded Letters Patent which would guarantee them the southern part of the colony. They received them and thanked for them. Later, they were urged to fulfill their obligations of furnishing the necessary number of missionaries. At least nine or ten were needed for the savages. They wrote to their Province, I myself wrote several letters to the Provincial. The answer was that the Province was short of men, that they would do what they could. They spoke of two Fathers only who could go. On the other hand, we know from Father Raphael's letters that he sent back one of his men, that another could no longer serve on account of old age, that two others had died.

It was then that the Company decided to make a new partition, otherwise spiritual life would make no progress. The Company reserved to the Capuchins the better places, namely, the French posts, the chief of them is the parish of the capital. To the Jesuits were assigned only the Indians. The Company saw above all to it that nothing was granted them which might infringe in the least upon the jurisdiction of Reverend Father Raphael. Father de Beaubois was expressly restrained from exercising any function without his permission. He alone was permitted to reside in New Orleans, the other Fathers had to be scattered among the Indian tribes. The jurisdiction of the Ordinary will be upheld everywhere. It will certainly extend over all the nuns; the pastor has his place in the Council of the Hospital of which the nuns shall have charge. Father de Beaubois who did us the favor of obtaining them may well advise them as a friend, but the ecclesiastical ministry may be exercised only in so far as Father Raphael allows him.

What has now frightened him [Father Raphael]? I tell Your Lordship frankly, his grumblings are not at all apostolic. Externally they have nothing apostolic about them—only the perpetual threat made time and again, to leave, to quit everything, *etc.* Now he would go among the Indians to bury himself in the woods and die. Is this a case like that of the Apostles when they shook the dust off their feet and abandoned Israel? Everybody esteems that Father, everybody serves him, everybody honors him, his Province does everything for him, everybody respects fully the authority you have given him, and he is still discontented. That surprises me and undoubtedly Your Lordship must likewise be suprised. After all, Your Lordship, I hope the colony will flourish and be peopled in the course of time so as to produce in its native soil a Clergy and various Religious. God grant this may happen in Your days! May you not wish for it, You who are the Hierarchical Father? Does your charity tolerate the selfish idea of *mine* and *thine* which has now enveloped the soul of Father Raphael?

You have asked me, whether the Jesuits among the Illinois had anything to suffer from the Capuchins. They did not suffer anything outright (non seulement ils y en souffriroient) but I believe they [the Capuchins] would like to have them [the Jesuits] as co-laborers in their evangelic work, and that would doubtlessly be necessary if their Order [the Jesuit], like the Province of Champagne, could not furnish the requisite number of missionaries, and if your Jesuit Vicar-General in that country would be subject to them [the Capuchins] in his functions of the ministry. Give back, therefore, Your Lordship, to Reverend Father Raphael that wise and courageous moderation which seems to have left him. He lacked it, at least at the time he wrote to me. What does it matter, whether Apollo, Cephas or Paul do the good work, provided that the rules of the Church, which you must maintain, be observed.

I am with infinite respect,
Your Lordship's
Most humble and obedient servant,
Abbé Raguet [20]

The principles expressed in Abbé Raguet's letter are, indeed, very praiseworthy, but he fails to realize the natural tendency of human nature to repine at bitter disappointment. It may easily be that

[20] Paris Arch. Col., C13A10, ff. 56-58.

Father Raphael wrote in a tone of excessive apprehension, but this was only the natural outpouring of a soul ardently devoted to its cause. The Capuchins had received the best security for their Mission in the Letters Patent issued both by the Company and the King, and could not but consider the secret schemes of Father de Beaubois as bordering on intrigue, and as time advanced fresh evidence to substantiate their suspicions arose. Toward the end of 1726 M. Pauger, the famous engineer who assisted in laying out New Orleans, was stricken with fever and dysentery and died. Among his effects were found letters revealing certain intrigues in which he had been involved against the government and the Capuchins. Father de Beaubois was still in France, whither he had gone to sign the treaty of February 20, 1726, and, nevertheless, his influence over M. Pauger is seen. Deploring the fact that these letters had not been destroyed by Pauger before his death, Father Raphael says:

> Among others was found a rough draught of a letter *written in the handwriting of Reverend Father de Beaubois, Jesuit, in which this Father and Priest lends his style to the late M. Pauger, making the latter say several things disparaging to M. de la Chaise and others.* The letter is addressed to M. d'Asfelt. *We are not spared in that letter.* In order to let him know how necessary it is that Jesuits settle here, the Rev. Father de Beaubois exaggerates the ignorance and rudeness in which the youth grow up. He knew, nevertheless, that a school had been then conducted at New Orleans and that we never failed to impart Christian Doctrine on Sunday and Feast-days. Neither could he be ignorant of my personal endeavors to find means to enable fathers and mothers to send their children to school. People say there are other letters of the same tone in his handwriting. They intend to show them to Father de Beaubois when he arrives here, together with some others full of gross flattery which he wrote to the same persons whose manners he had decried in letters addressed to others.
>
> He, [Father de Beaubois], wrote me by the *St. Andre* that an establishment at New Orleans was granted him at last, that the need of such was considered so pressing, that, although it could have been written about and effected differently, the Company has decided that he shall reside here as a simple inhabitant and that he has even not consented to use the faculties which he gives to others, and he adds that ideas were ascribed to him which defame any priest and religious. I do

not know, Sir, what those ideas are, unless that he was suspected of trying to establish himself here sooner or later as master of the Missions. I do not see that this suspicion was unfounded, since he himself has said here to his friends that *he will return to stay with them, that the Capuchins were no men to manage a Mission like this, that in fact he would not take over the parish but that he would have it served by secular priests.*

People have assured me that he has said so at Mobile and at New Orleans, entrusting that secret to those to whom he had spoken about it in a letter to Sir Dubreuil, a *concessionaire;* he gives him a detailed account of his projects always telling him to keep it secret. Why so many secrets if he does not want to surprise anybody? It seems to me that missionaries who must have in view only God's glory and the salvation of souls have no need to disguise under the cloak of so many precautions either the first or the last, and that Reverend Father de Beaubois could have told me during his stay here, what he had told others. We could have come to an agreement in regard to certain points helpful to carry on our ministration with greater fruit, but he has used every means to disguise himself from me, while he stirred heaven and earth to draw into his party all persons possible by the promises he made to the ones, to support them, and to the others, to advance them by the credit of the Society of Jesus.

What pains me most in this business is that I see that people already threaten us with the coming of the Jesuit Father and expect of the latter, perhaps without good reasons, more connivance in certain matters than we give them. Not long ago some of the prominent inhabitants told me to my face when I had refused to baptize their children in their homes that they are awaiting the Jesuit Fathers, and that these Fathers would not make the difficulties we are making in having the sacraments administered in private houses. One of the children said to have been baptized privately has died without having ever been brought to the church; a second child, baptized privately by a midwife without any necessity, runs the same risk even now. I pass over the number of other remarks made here pro and con, but I cannot get rid of the apprehension I have, that the residence of Reverend Father de Beaubois in New Orleans will occasion us sooner or later quarrels little edifying to the people.

Men who pursue the same end do not always agree as to the choice of means to attain that end, and we cannot be expected to think always the same as the Reverend Jesuit Fathers. If we had a bishop here at our head, all these difficulties would cease and we would be very indifferent as to what order or congregation the missionaries belonged with whom we had to

work, for all would be subject to the same master and obliged to obey his commands. But where several bodies are independent of each other and not subordinated to one, it is almost impossible to avoid some confusion from time to time, caused by the difference of opinion, each preferring his own. To obviate this trouble, the Bishop of Quebec determined that in the distant missions where he could not settle affairs personally, each body of missionaries should keep within the limits of its own district. He even seemed to be surprised, as he has done me the honor to write, that the Reverend Jesuit Fathers had taken over the missions of the Yazoos and Arkansas which were in our district. But since there is nothing in this that could set us at variance owing to the distance which these missions are from us, I believe that His Lordship will be satisfied with what I had the honor to write him about it.

But it is a different case regarding the establishment of these Reverend Fathers in New Orleans, where two superiors, one independent of the other, will now reside. The consequence of this is too obvious and we cannot regard it otherwise than as a trap laid to force us to abandon the Mission. This it was that made me resolve to return to France with the first ship to confer with the Gentlemen of the Company and with the Superiors of my Province as to what I should do. I rely besides on the guidance of Divine Providence. Yet I cannot conceal from you, Sir, that the discoveries which were made here in regard to the designs of Reverend Father de Beaubois will always make our religious distrustful of him, and I foresee that it will be very difficult to preserve long the harmony necessary among Gospel workers.[21]

Father Raphael spoke wisely when he said the presence of a bishop in the colony was practically the only means of securing the moderation of zeal and ambition, and the promotion of harmony among the missionaries. Experience in both Church and State had taught the necessity of single local authority as representative of supreme headship elsewhere. With two independent superiors in New Orleans, the local Church would be as a house divided against itself. The situation presaged only constant friction and possible scandal. However, the absence of a resident bishop, or at least, a Prefect Apostolic was due to Bishop Saint Vallier, who more than once had protested against the division of his diocese. To what unhappy consequence the present lack of unity in the Mississippi Valley would lead, the immediate future was to disclose.

[21] Paris Arch. Col., C13A10, ff. 47-48.

CHAPTER VI

Religious Conditions in the Colony

One of the salient obligations contracted by the Company of the Indies by its Charter of 1717, was to transport to Louisiana within a fixed time a certain number of colonists. Realizing that success or failure hinged on the colonization or non-colonization of the country, the Company set about its task with promptness and energy. In many a lying sheet it advertised Louisiana as the "Land of Promise," akin to the terrestrial paradise. Such exaggerations proved powerful inducements to both the French and the Germans in the beginning, but the truth was soon manifest, especially with the failure of John Law and his financial scheme. Then it was that those lying sheets proved death warrants for colonization. The tide of immigration which was pouring onward, rolled suddenly back, as the enemies of Law went to the opposite extreme and flaunted in the face of the world the gloomiest pictures of the land they had once so grossly enhanced.

Henceforth, Louisiana is not the "Land of Promise," but rather the Land of Pandemonium. The whole country was now pictured as a vile compound of marshes, lagoons, bogs, endless prairies and dark forests. The Mississippi rolled onward a muddy and thick substance which hardly deserved the name of water, and which was alive with every insect and reptile. In certain months of the year that mighty river left its filthy bed and flowed over the whole land, so that the people were left homeless and starving. At other seasons the sun was so intensely hot that at noon it could strike you dead. In such a country Europeans rapidly degenerated, the immigrant being seized with disease that made flee forever the rosy hue of the cheek and within ten years brought on premature old age.[1]

It is easy to imagine the startling effects such malicious misrepresentations produced on the minds of the people. Immigration was given the death-blow, for no tender of money or promise of reward could tempt anyone to embark for such a land of darkness

[1] Gayarre, Charles, *History of Louisiana, The French Domination*, pp. 224-228, New York, 1886.

and death. Still, the Company had to save itself, and Louisiana had to be colonized despite the financial failure of John Law and the lying machinations of his enemies. Describing the Company's frantic attempt to colonize Louisiana, King says:

> The Company, to keep up its " boom " before its shareholders in France by its tide of emigration, was exporting its scrapings of asylums, hospitals, reformatories and its midnight nettings of Paris streets by its paid dog-catchers of humanity. And in addition, slave ships began to answer the demand, by bringing in their naked, reeking African cargo of misery, degradation and wretchedness to be dumped like ballast on Biloxi Beach.[2]

It is evident that the result of this wholesale importation of undesirables could mean nothing else for Louisiana than a collection of humanity formed from the dregs of France and Canada, with no respect for religion or government, but addicted to all kinds of vice. Even Bienville, despite his initial yielding to the exhilarating current of the " boom," at length protested to the Council:

> The Council will permit me to represent to it that it is very disagreeable for an officer in charge of a colony to have, to defend it, only a band of deserters, convicts and rascals who are always ready, not only to abandon you, but even to turn against you. What attachment to the country can these people have, who are sent here by force, and who have no hope of returning to their mother-country? Can one believe that they will not use all their efforts to deliver themselves from such a situation? . . . It seems to me that it is absolutely necessary, if it is desired to preserve this colony to the king, to send as much as possible only willing men, and to endeavor to procure for life here more comforts than have been enjoyed up to the present.[3]

Such was the character of the people herded to Louisiana to lead the proverbially hard, industrious and self-sacrificing life inseparable from pioneer efforts! But what is worse, the officials, instead of tightening the reins of discipline, frequently connived at the lawlessness of the people they sent hither. Commenting on this phase of the situation, Shea says very truthfully:

[2] *Jean Baptiste le Moyne Sieur de Bienville,* p. 251, New York, 1892.
[3] *Ibid.,* p. 246.

> Louisiana was increasing in population, but the settlers were not of the sturdy, industrious character found in those who built up Canada. Times had changed, too; less respect was paid to religion, and officials, instead of upholding the Church and its ministers, or setting an example of respect for morality and religion, frequently afforded a pretext for those viciously inclined to plunge into every kind of excess. In the documents of the time instances constantly occur where the ministers of religion were openly treated with contempt.[4]

In 1725, this scum of humanity together with the nonchalant government had created a situation that was well-nigh hopeless. It was then that the authorities at Paris began their investigation of the political regime that finally led to the recall of Governor Bienville. From 1702, the latter had remained the leading figure in the political sphere, despite his failure to cope with the situation. As early as August 28, 1723, an affidavit against him had been drafted at New Orleans, signed by M. Raguet, a sub-commissioner, and countersigned by Father Raphael. The document accused the Bienville regime of cruelty to the Indians and of dissipation of the goods and revenues of the king.[5] Bienville himself was charged with having shown favoritism, coupled with the attempt to turn Louisiana into a patrimony for himself and his numerous friends and allies. Previous to his recall, Messieurs Du Saunoy and de la Chaise had been sent by the Company to investigate the affairs of the colony. Du Saunoy having died shortly after his arrival, Monsieur de la Chaise remained clothed with all the authority of the joint commission.[6] Monsieur de la Chaise had no easy task, for the Councillors of the Bienville Party resented his investigation and gave public evidence of their objection. On May 18, 1726, Father Raphael, whose keen eye allowed no political injustice to escape its notice, wrote to Abbé Raguet:

> Since the departure of the *La Baleine,* those who have arrogated to themselves the power of managing all things against the Statutes of the Company, have created new public scandals. They have gone so far as to depose M. Brule, the first councillor, on the plea *that he gave information to M. de la Chaise*

[4] *The Catholic Church in Colonial Days*, p. 551, New York, 1886.
[5] King, *Op. cit.*, p. 271.
[6] Gayarre, *Op. cit.*, p. 370.

> *as to what passes in the Council of Administration.* They apprised him of their decision on Good Friday. But after so doing, they reflected on the impression this would make on the people, especially, since they all belonged to the same party and the report they would publish might not be credited, they changed their mind, and on Wednesday of Easter week, they reinstated M. Brule.[7]

Further indication of political unrest was the resignation of three councillors, Messieurs Perraut, Perry and Fleuriau, which took place during the investigation of M. de la Chaise. One of them, M. Perry, demanded his reinstallation on the day following his resignation. M. de la Chaise, in an effort to be considerate, permitted his return to the council only to be informed two days later that he had resigned again. Before any official action could be taken, the same M. Perry demanded to be reinstated. Such action on the part of a public official cannot but show the unstable mental calibre that spelled the unfitness of its owner. It was because of the maintenance of so many unworthy officials in power throughout the colony that Father Raphael denounced in strongest language the Bienville Party. Not only did civil affairs suffer from this disorder, but the Church as well.

> There are always disorders among our French people which I cannot stop effectively without the help of the secular arm, but the present state of affairs does not give much hope from that side. The greatest scandals are caused by the officers who are too openly supported, so that I cannot flatter myself in being able to recall them to their duty. There is one *among others* who grieves me extremely. His name is Luboye, a Captain and Knight of St. Louis. Formerly he was Commander at Biloxi and at La Mobile. This officer has no religion, although he has abjured Calvinism in which he was born. He practises the Catholic Religion in nothing. On Good Friday to the great scandal of the people he left the church as soon as he saw them prepare for the adoration of the cross. For several years he lives with a woman named Madame Garnier, who has left her husband. She has a child from M. de Luboye and is pregnant with a second. Both take a certain pride in their concubinage. They take walks together and live on such familiar terms in the eyes of all the people as if they were

[7] Paris Arch. Col., C13A10, f. 43.

lawfully married. I have complained of it several times, but always to no avail. The censures of the Church do not frighten them. The one is an avowed heretic in spite of the fact that he is a Knight of St. Louis, the other is a woman without honor of whom it is said that she was suspended in the pillory in Paris for having poisoned her first husband. This is a fact which I mention only as a topic of general gossip.

I believe that such disorders would be less common if exemplary punishments would be administered. It would, moreover, be desirable for the good of religion if the prescriptions of the Black Code against masters who abuse their slaves and make them work on Sundays and Feastdays, would be put into execution, for although the number of those who keep Indian and Negro girls for immoral purposes has considerably decreased, there are still enough to scandalize the Church and to need an efficient remedy. Profanation of Sundays and Feastdays is counted almost for nothing, especially, in places where there are no priests. Going up the river I have decided to go from farm to farm to have them make their Easter duty. I shall do the same going from New Orleans up to the Natchez, when I shall have an opportunity. I hope after that to know well how the people live in the country and what means have to be used to remedy the disorders.[8]

In general, there was no co-operation between Church and State in Louisiana. Men were maintained in office who were positively unfit from the standpoint of public decency. This is all the more surprising since the Catholic faith was the State religion, Jews being excluded and Protestants being merely tolerated by the "Black Code" introduced by Bienville in March of 1724. Yet the same government that enthroned the Church, subjected the ministers of that Church to indignity and persecution on the part of public officials. At Natchez the Sieur du Tisnet was appointed Commander although he was not only irreligious but also grossly immoral. The guilty Commander had held a similar office in Illinois two years before and while there had a similar record. A young man there had even drawn up an indictment against him and sent it to Father Raphael to present to the Council. Instead of the Council dismissing him from office with punishment, he was made Commander of the post at Natchez. Here again he practised

[8] Paris Arch. Col., C13A10, ff. 45-46. Father Raphael to Abbé Raguet, May 18, 1726.

immorality, the Sieur de Montigni, Lieutenant of the garrison, as well as a German youth who on that account had quit his service, bearing witness to Father Raphael.

In 1726, the Vicar-General in company of M. Prat, the physician, had visited Natchez and the guilty officer, presupposing they had come there to obtain information against him, tried to vex them by refusing them a place in the pirogue which M. de la Chaise had sent for them. They were forced then to wait for almost a month before other provision could be made for their departure. This meanness was unpardonable, for both were needed at home, Father Raphael for his ministry and M. Prat to care for his patients. On December 28, 1726, the Capuchin Superior wrote to Abbé Raguet:

> I never thought I should meddle in this affair, it belongs to the Royal Judges who have the same information as I. Yet I cannot help complaining of the scandal which this man, without religion and morality, has given the inhabitants of this post and of the persecutions he has instigated against the missionary who acts as pastor. Not only has he taken for his lodging the place where Mass was said, and turned into a magazine the bakeroom which served as kitchen in the priest-house, but also to prevent him from having divine services, he has taken away the only man capable of serving him at the altar. There are not four inhabitants who do not complain of having been maltreated by this Commandant. He speaks to them only of hand-cuffs and iron collars for the least things, and very often he carries out his threats which disheartens the poor people.
>
> Some of them went down to New Orleans to demand justice, but got no hearing. This officer does what he pleases in the colony and with impunity, and the largest number of the Commandants there exercise an intolerable tyranny, both in regard to commerce which they pretend to be entitled to carry on in preference to the inhabitants, and in regard to the abuse they make of their authority. I know that the Company has given definite orders on this point, *but nothing is observed owing to the weakness of the government* and if things remain in this state much longer, you cannot expect the colony to be firmly established.[9]

Finally, tired of protest, the Company removed M. Tisnet and replaced him by M. de Merveilleux, a captain who publicly professed

[9] Paris Arch. Col., C13A10, f. 50.

the Calvinistic religion. The Church at Natchez and its curate were indeed in a sad plight. In the mind of Father Raphael such preference of the unworthy was not only uncalled for, but also unheard of in Catholic colonies, and in this strain he protested to the Director of the Company.

> This is no way to promote the interests of religion. I have spoken my mind on this affair to our Messieurs [of the Council] but received the answer that there were examples in France where Reformed Governors and Commandants were placed at the head of Catholic communities. I do not know of any, although I have passed part of my life on the frontier. Even in Alsace, where the King tolerates the practice of Lutheranism, he does not allow the lowest policeman to be in office unless he profess the faith of the Roman Church. Since I have already had the honor to demand an order from the Company in regard to M. Luboye, former Commandant at Biloxi and at Mobile, and M. D'Arensbourg, former Commandant at *Les Allemands,* I expect attention to be given my demand, so I refrain from making useless remonstrances in the present state of affairs.[10]

Bad example of those in high places was really the bane of the colony in those days, and as soon as Father Raphael succeeded in quelling one disorder another was sure to arise. Even women were bold and coarse in their conduct and ever ready to defy the missionary who dared recall them to their duty. Thus on November 10, 1726, while Father Raphael was at Natchez, Mesdames Fleuriau, Brule and Perry, wives of the Supreme Councillors, gave public scandal in the church at New Orleans. The congregation had assembled for the parochial Mass, when these three ladies began to laugh and talk and in general, behave disrespectfully before the Blessed Sacrament. At first the Regent of the College reminded them of the sanctity of the place and then Father Hyacinth, who was about to begin Mass called them to duty. Both times, however, the advice went unheeded. Seeing that they continued their irreverence during the holy function, Father Hyacinth bade them leave the church or he would discontinue the Mass. At this, one of the women, a cousin of Madame Fleuriau and sister of Madame Brule, answered aloud: "Devil, I don't go out that way." Father

[10] *Ibid.*, f. 51.

Hyacinth composed himself and pointed out to them that their conduct was grossly insulting and begged them to commit no more irreverence before the Altar. Thereupon Madame Fleuriau rose and told the priest to shut his mouth and stop pretending and continue with his function without making any more remarks. The priest suffered their presence, but the next day presented the case in writing to the Council which refused to do anything in the matter since it was purely ecclesiastical. The petition was then left in the Registrar's office.

Upon Father Raphael's return, Father Hyacinth reported the unhappy occurrence and insisted that he, as the Supreme ecclesiastical authority in the colony, take up the matter personally with the Supreme Council. Father Raphael presented himself at the office of M. Fleuriau, the Procurator General, and demanded a copy of the petition of Father Hyacinth with a memorandum of whatever action the Council had taken. His demand was heeded, but the notes of the Council's action filled him with new dismay. The remarks of M. Fleuriau about the case branded him rather the Persecutor of the Church than its Protector. He treated as " insolence, abuse, insult, folly " the holy liberty which the minister of God had taken to censure the irreverence committed in the presence of the Lord. He also heaped other calumnies on the Capuchin missionaries. Animated by principles of justice and religion, Father Raphael requested the Supreme Council to nominate a reliable man who with the Registrar and himself would gather all available information on the matter in question. His request was granted, whereupon Father Hyacinth charged the bailiff of the Council to appoint the witnesses. But M. Fleuriau halted the bailiff saying he could issue no writs for an ecclesiastical court without orders from the Council. To obtain permission for this would necessitate complications and delay. Thus the guilty Procurator attempted to block every step that might lead to condemnation of himself and the Mesdames.

But the matter was not permitted to rest with this. Father Raphael had a detailed report drawn up by authentic witnesses and forwarded to Abbé Raguet the Supreme Director in Paris. This report was altogether different from that of M. Fleuriau with its many calumnies of the missionaries, and it proved to evidence that,

if Father Hyacinth had committed any fault, it was that he said Mass in the presence of those Mesdames whose irreverence and impiety rendered them unworthy of assisting at so holy a function. In his letter of December 28, 1726, Father Raphael says to Abbé Raguet:

> I have made up my mind to send or take this report to you personally to have justice rendered in France, something I cannot expect here with all the troubles and tumults that stir up the colony. We are awaiting with impatience a ship which will remedy these disorders. Its delay makes us uneasy and grieves us. If it arrives soon, as we expect, I shall have the honor to pay you my respects in Paris before you will have received this letter. I wish it could be done, because my old age does not permit me to continue the fatigues I am obliged to bear. M. de la Chaise and a number of good people are just as desirous for the arrival of the ship, since nothing is more disconsolate than to see the little efforts people make to restrain their passions. I believe, Sir, that you will also learn details from other letters. What I must say is that our ministry is rendered futile here owing to the treatment we receive from several members of the Council. These Gentlemen are intent on nothing else than to contradict us in all we do for God, and to make us odious and despicable to the people.[11]

This unhappy affair came to a satisfactory conclusion when M. Perier, the successor of Bienville, arrived in the colony. There was no need for Father Raphael to go to France, for the new governor immediately took up the case and brought Fleuriau to task both for his neglect of justice and for his abuse of the missionaries. We have no detailed report of the outcome, Father Raphael in his report to Raguet contenting himself with saying that Governor Perier acted promptly and obtained from M. Fleuriau his admission of guilt. "You will, therefore, dispense me from giving you a full report of this affair. As I have promised you, I am bound not to speak of it anymore and I shall keep my word." [12]

Another great evil in the colony was the liberty taken in regard to marriage. In certain posts the inhabitants, on the pretext that they lived too far from the missionary were wont to contract marriage in the presence of the Commandants and a few witnesses

[11] Paris Arch. Col., C13A10, ff. 51-52. [12] *Ibid.*, f. 323.

with reciprocal promise to present themselves to the missionary at the first opportunity. As usual in such cases, some would keep their promises while others would separate at will, arguing that they contracted no obligation by their promise. The missionaries themselves were divided in their opinion. Some held that since the law considered such persons incompetent to contract marriage in such circumstances, their act was null and void and they were free to separate. Others believed that although marriages contracted and consummated in this manner were not absolutely indissoluble, nevertheless, they obliged the persons to keep the promises under which they had been contracted and this, chiefly out of regard for the woman, who believed in good faith that she could not be repudiated. Again there was another evil practice of masters marrying on their own authority their Christian slaves to unbaptised slaves. The prevalence of these abuses naturally led the people to underestimate the sanctity and seriousness of the marriage contract. Asked by Father Raphael to give a decision on these marriage questions, Abbé Raguet, speaking for the Church, wrote on October 25, 1727:

> It is clear that marriages contracted only in the presence of commanders and a few witnesses are no marriages. The parties, therefore, are free to marry others. Yet the same parties after giving such authentic promises, are obliged in conscience to marry each other, and a man who would not fulfill this obligation would be nothing less than a villain. He has, like a criminal, resorted to the basest fraud to deceive an unsuspecting and innocent girl who possesses nothing more precious than that whereof he has robbed her by a most criminal seduction. I would refuse him absolution till he fulfilled his promise.
>
> It is likewise clear that marriages of Christian slaves with infidel slaves are null and void. Although the Church has tolerated them during the first centuries, the Fathers have decried them during the very time of this tolerance without, however, saying they were null and void. Yet ever after, there has not been two opinions in the Church concerning them. Therefore, such concubinages cannot be tolerated and slaveholders who cause them, commit a horrible crime by uniting in this way light with darkness, Jesus with Belial.[13]

[13] Paris Arch. Col., C13A10, f. 339.

In the same letter that carried the inquiry as to the morality of the marriages, there was also a plea for a revision of an unjust sentence which the Council had pronounced on a certain M. Pailla. This man was accused apparently unjustly of having reviled and insulted M. Perault, an official. As a punishment he was condemned to pay fifty crowns, to confess his fault publicly at the churchdoor and in the chamber of the Council, to be flogged by the hangmen and finally banished from the city for five years. Decrying this injustice and tyranny of the Council, Father Raphael says:

> I simply tell you that this M. Pailla is one of the *good inhabitants* of the country, irreproachable in the life he leads, and the execution of this sentence made everybody weep at the injustice and tyranny. The manner in which this sentence was handed down, the quality of the judges and witnesses show plainly that there is reason for the complaint of the people. I am convinced, Sir, that you will not fail to use your influence with the Company and elsewhere to have better justice rendered an innocent man, oppressed and disgraced in a manner so painful to an honest man. The good name of the Company and the public interest demand this of you.[14]

Thus, practically every letter that crossed the sea carried a protest against cruelty or immorality of which those in high places were either guilty or tolerant. The Bienville Regime had little to recommend itself. Yet men were not lacking who fawned upon the party and left no stone unturned to excuse its guilt and retain it in power. Indeed, while Bienville was in France, he wrote to the colony that the only reason which prevented his return to the governorship was the fact that a rumor had been spread at court that most of the people in Louisiana had made bonfires at his departure. Upon receiving this news his nephews started a vigorous propaganda for his return. They endeavored to procure signatures to the contrary. They wheedled the Indians into expressing their consent for his restoration. They went from house to house and from farm to farm presenting a paper for signatures favorable to Bienville.

But their efforts were self-condemned. The character of the Indians was well known, a trinket was more than sufficient to make

[14] *Ibid.*, 325.

them serve any interest. Hence the declaration of the two Indian chiefs, of the Collas and the Chouachas whose tribes numbered barely six-score families, provoked a disdainful smile from every intelligent person. Other signatures obtained, were given by people who in their present circumstances could not easily refuse without exposing themselves to disgrace. "These factious doings," wrote Father Raphael on May 18, 1726, "do great harm to the practice of religion, especially since the heads of the colony are mostly their authors, men who have not seen fit to perform their Easter duty, their bad example causing a great decrease in the number of those who performed it last year." [15]

The abettors of Bienville, however, had worked in vain. M. de la Chaise, the Royal Inquisitor, had his eye and hand on all disorders, and the result of his investigation was the removal from office of Bienville on August 9, 1726. Just how far Bienville was responsible for the miserable state of Louisiana is not known, but the fact is, the colony was socially and morally in a critical condition and this was due chiefly to men he retained in office. M. Perier, Bienville's successor, embarked on December 1, 1726, at L'Orient, and arrived at New Orleans on March 15, 1727, in company of Father de Beaubois. The new governor was highly esteemed by the Company and deserved it in every respect. He was a loyal and energetic seaman, of an independent character and absolutely honest. On his arrival in the colony he could not help noticing the commotion of the people. The city of New Orleans was divided into two parties; on the one side were the friends of the deposed Bienville, on the other, his enemies. At the head of the latter was M. de la Chaise, Commissary and Director of the Council. The members of the Council were then, Messieurs de la Chaise, Bruzle, d'Ausserville and de Chavennes, the secretary. All were intensely devoted to de la Chaise, the Director. The latter was very much attached to the interests of the Company and possessed its entire confidence. On arriving in the colony, M. Perier set himself the laudable aim to keep neutral, although out of gratitude to the Company, he leaned a little to the party of M. de la Chaise. Likewise Father Raphael, having experienced little good

[15] Paris Arch. Col., C13A10, f. 44.

from the old party, took sides with de la Chaise and became his staunch supporter and friend.

The party of M. Bienville had at its head Le Moyne de Serigny, Captain of the ships, Le Moyne de Chateaugue, Messieurs de Noyan, Boisbriant and other officials. This party was composed mostly of old soldiers, debtors and boyhood friends of the former governor, of the enemies of de la Chaise, all who had any complaint against the Council of the Company and, finally, all malcontents of the new regime. With this party Father de Beaubois also cast in his lot owing to his friendship for M. Bienville whom he considered a victim of the Company of the Indies. Abbé Raguet wrote in 1729: "During his sojourn of fifteen months in France, Father de Beaubois tightened more and more the close friendship he had formerly made with Sieur de Bienville, author of all the disturbance in the colony and who on that account was called to France."[16] In the beginning, at least, Father de Beaubois remained on friendly terms with Governor Perier, though not with M. de la Chaise. On May 24, 1727, he wrote to Raguet:

> The arrival of M. Perier in Louisiana has caused a great sensation, and his bearing, full of wisdom and firmness, has insensibly restored peace and good order. We may say that he gained both the esteem and friendship of the entire country. I know that you have a high opinion of him, but the more I have the honor to associate with him, the more I see that in spite of your being his fast friend, you fail to do him the justice he deserves. . .
>
> M. Perier gives me his entire protection and will not fail me when I need him. I cannot say *the same,* of M. de la Chaise, on whom, however, I believe I could count. I am fully convinced that he will not harm me. I have never given him, so far as I know, the slightest cause for displeasure, but I feel everyday that he is not inclined to do me a favor even in matters where the Company will not suffer and where I am absolutely in need of his help. I do not know whence this may arise and I have no other alternative to take than to wait with patience until he be in a humor more favorable to me.[17]

As an evidence of the good understanding and even intimacy between Governor Perier and himself, Father de Beaubois relates

[16] Rochemonteix, *Op. cit.*, p. 290, note.
[17] Paris Arch. Col., C13A10, f. 311.

how M. Perier took him into confidence in an effort to procure justice for a wronged settler:

> M. Perier showed me yesterday a criminal process which had been instituted against a settler, and he was so gracious as to ask my opinion on what should be done to help the unfortunate man in his plea for protection. I tell you, Sir, I am not over my surprise yet, and I cannot understand how a Supreme Council could have made such a mistake. You yourself may judge from the papers you will receive and you will pity the condition of a man who seems to be the victim of crudest passion. The pretended crime imputed to him is without proof, or incidentally based on a fact which has no connection with the actual affair, which latter also is presupposed without proof. The formalities were not observed in the trial. They appointed judges according to their whims, the accused was denied the liberty to refuse or admit his judges, the sentence handed down was oral and nothing was written except the report of the recorder who likewise forgetful of his duties, inserted falsehood into the open session and protested against such an extraordinary procedure, transgressing the rules in regard to the making of remonstrances in favor of an innocent man whom everybody finds not guilty. . . . .
>
> Nevertheless, this unfortunate man is sentenced to an infamous penalty and is banished for five years from the city where the business of his plantation calls him five or six times a year. He has written of this to the Commandant, asking for permission to come to New Orleans to attend to his business. The case is delicate. Although this proceeding seems unjust, nevertheless it is a sentence of the Supreme Council, the lifting of which the settler has not been able to procure and it must be executed. On the other hand, is it possible that an innocent man remain oppressed and bereft of a helping hand? My advice has been: 1) To safeguard the honor of the Council and the authority of the Court, it would be good to apply to you in secret and that you should have the kindness to see what might be done with the vice-chancellor to rehabilitate this unfortunate man and to bring his exile to an end. 2) That, since the Council which has sentenced him does not seem to have been formed legitimately, he who is competent could, upon petition which this settler would present to him, grant him permission to visit the city three or four times a year. In this way the poor man would receive some consolation in his misery and disgrace, and the Commander would commit himself to nothing.[18]

[18] *Ibid.*, f. 313.

From this we see that if justice was still violated by the authorities, there was a governor near who felt the responsibility for giving redress. This incident shows not only the intimacy between the Governor and the Jesuit, but also the humanitarian principles of Father de Beaubois. On April 18, 1727, Father Raphael also wrote to Raguet in terms of the highest praise for Governor Perier:

> Nothing could befall the colony which could be of greater blessing than the change which the Company has made within the short time M. Perier is here. He has done both for State and Church what before we dared not hope for, and one might say, that the disorders that gave rise to the change were necessary, for without them, perhaps, we should never have had the consolation of seeing the end of the evils that afflicted us. The same course of things and the same weakness in government would have ruined the colony sooner or later. M. Perier was the man we needed and it seems that Providence has preserved him for us. He has already done more for the good of religion by his good example and firmness in suppressing libertinism than the missionaries had been able to do by their sermons.
>
> I have no doubt that his close union with M. de la Chaise realizes completely the expectation of the Company and of all well-meaning people. It is true, the cabal still stirs and tries to create trouble, flattering itself to part the two chiefs, but I am almost convinced that it labors in vain. M. Perier is well posted as to these evil designs. He does justice to M. de la Chaise as he deserves it, and has told me several days ago that after hearing all that his enemies have said against him, he has found nothing that would be wrong. M. de la Chaise on his part is determined to go on doing his best to convince M. Perier of his esteem and perfect attachment to him. He [de la Chaise] has asked me to assure him [Perier] of that, and I had not the least difficulty in so doing. This, my Lord, I can assure you for the present, and I hope that these friendly relations between the two heads, so necessary for the good order and progress of the colony, will be maintained despite the efforts of evil-minded people to disrupt them.[19]

That the colony still harbored malcontents who worked assiduously against the Perier government was not surprising. The Bienville Party was still alive and engaged in propaganda for its

[19] *Ibid.*, f. 321.

idol's return. To this effect, his followers held regular meetings and spread letters among the people declaring that the former regime would be soon restored. They maligned the Perier Government and tried to create the impression that the two chiefs, Perier and de la Chaise, disagreed, and that Governor Perier had orders to depose his colleague. Of course, there was no foundation for the statement, the purpose of the rumor being to discredit the chiefs with the people. M. Perier dealt patiently but firmly with his enemies and as soon as he scented real danger in the meetings, issued prompt orders which forbade them. But Father Raphael feared that eventually the discontented element might succeed in its nefarious designs and recommended to Abbé Raguet the deportation of all who might prove dangerous fomentors of discord. He had seen the flagrant mockery of justice, the religious indifference and bad example of the former regime, and he dreaded the possibility of its return to power. Hence he wrote to the Director in Paris:

> If this should come true, I venture to say that you may never count on the solid establishment of the colony, both as regards spiritual and temporal affairs. Those who know how things have been in the past will readily agree that I have reason to pass judgment as to the future. I add with the same confidence, that the welfare of the colony depends on the support of the two chiefs who govern it now. I speak in this strain neither through prejudice nor self-interest, but as a man who has in view the progress of religion which is inseparable from good order. I may even tell you, that were it my aim to gain temporal advantages, I should have succeeded very well by joining those men whose removal I desire. It would have been necessary only that I declare myself in their favor to obtain everything I might demand, for such was the policy of that faction and by such means only has it strengthened itself.
>
> I shall not neglect anything, as far as it depends on me, to keep up the friendly relations between Messrs. Perier and de la Chaise. I hope I shall never be called upon to busy myself in this matter. At all events I shall strive never to do anything that could render me unworthy of the confidence of them both.[20]

Here was a man completely devoted to the spiritual and temporal

[20] Paris Arch. Col., C13A10, f. 322.

welfare of the colony he had come to father. He is as democratic as the Order to which he belonged, and therefore he never failed to assert his views, be they favorable or unfavorable. He was sent to Louisiana to uphold the ideals and principles of the Church, and the Company to whom was confided the civil power, was pledged to second his efforts. The first government with Bienville at its head had failed to give the co-operation promised. The voice of Father Raphael as spokesman for the Church, and therefore, champion of right and assailant of wrong, never failed to reach the ears of those in power. In reply to his hopeful message, Abbé Raguet assured him of his deep satisfaction and delight that justice and eventually prosperity would reign in the disunited colony:

> I take up the pen again, Reverend Father, because your letter of April 18, of this year, which had gone astray, came at length to hand. I am delighted to hear what you believe the government of M. Perier will effect in the colony. I am also happy over the confidence you have that nothing will separate you from M. de la Chaise. I, too, am hopeful of this. Two good persons will seldom quarrel with each other. The rest of the refractory party that might cause disrupture will be dismissed or deprived of all authority and watched so closely that they will be incapable of doing harm. The close friendship of M. Perier and M. de la Chaise will certainly work for the good of the colony.[21]

But the peace and rejoicing, so long sought and so well deserved were not destined to continue long in Louisiana. The sun had but peeped through the clouds which were quietly gathering to burst into another storm. This time it was to be a religious dissension, the outcome of frail, erring human nature, that wrought much harm to the colony, but, under the strange Providence of God, much good withal.

[21] *Ibid.*, f. 337.

CHAPTER VII

Controversy over Ecclesiastical Jurisdiction, 1727

As we learned in a previous chapter, Father de Beaubois had gone to France in 1725, presumably to obtain Sisters for a school and hospital in New Orleans. While there he negotiated a treaty with the Company whereby the Jesuits were given charge of all the Indian Missions in Louisiana, and the Capuchins were entrusted with exclusive control of the French posts. For the sake of convenience the Jesuits were also accorded a hospice in New Orleans. The Abbé Raguet says in his Memoir:

> It was not possible to avoid in this agreement according an establishment in New Orleans to the Superior of the Jesuit Missions. Without it, he could not receive those who came from France for his missions. It is this residence, moreover, which puts him in position to render an account to the Commandant-General and to the Council, of that which the missionaries inform him, touching the disposition of the savages whose friendship is our security. But the Company did not accord this establishment to the superior of the Jesuits except on the condition that *there should not be any ecclesiastical functions without the consent of the Capuchins.*[1]

The Jesuit treaty did not alter the position of Father Raphael who remained Vicar-General for New Orleans and all the other French posts, while Father de Beaubois held the same office for the Indian Missions only.

After signing the treaty of February 20, 1726, Father de Beaubois tarried in France till December 1, then sailed to his new mission. *En route* he stopped at the Island of San Domingo to buy Negro slaves for the new Jesuit plantation on the eastern shore of the river which the late treaty had also accorded the Jesuits. The plantation, having an area of 3,600 feet front, by 9,000 feet depth, lay within the boundaries now indicated by Common, Tchoupitoulas, Annunciation and Terpsichore Streets, and the old course of Bayou St. John. Later the Jesuits added to the

[1] Paris Arch. Col., C13A10, f. 297.

original plantation by two purchases of land, making their plantation reach from the river to Broad Street and from Common to Felicity Road.[2] The high ambition and deep chagrin of Father de Beaubois at the several financial losses he sustained at the time are well brought out in his letter of May 4, 1727, to Abbé Raguet:

> Nothing seemed more advantageous for making a magnificent establishment than the measures which I had taken at Cape San Domingo. I had the honor to inform you erstwhile of what I had done. The choice which was given me from the remaining cargo of the *Hannibal* and the buying of sixteen Negro slaves whom I shipped at my own risk, was an instance where buyer and seller found equal reckoning. The Company had at least sixteen Negroes at stake, and I felt assured that when arriving at New Orleans, I should be able to undertake work on a big scale on a land where I had much to clear. Had the enterprise been successful, there would have been reason for me to pass as one of the most clever Jesuits. Providence has ordained otherwise and I have lost at one stroke nine [of the Negroes] *en route* to Louisiana. When I left the island for New Orleans whither I had the honor to accompany Monsieur and Madame Perier, I left my Negroes in perfect health and wanting nothing. Ten or twelve days later I learnt by the sloop which had gone to find them that nine of the most beautiful and strong Negroes had died. This was, as you see, Sir, a regrettable misfortune for a beginning.
>
> However, I have easily consoled myself. The Lord has not abandoned me in this entire enterprise here, neither was this the first contradiction which I met. But the question is now, how to retrieve my loss? They could furnish me means for this by procuring me certain facilities which would entail no bad consequences. Instead, they intend to make me pay for six Negroes, because, as they say, the Company had promised me only ten on the same conditions as to settlers, namely, payable in three years. The six supernumerary are to be deducted from the sum the Company owes me as payment agreed upon. As it is, they take from me the capital on which I counted to make my living here with my servants and to make the land productive without getting into debt. To complete my misfortune, I am also losing at least one thousand crowns on the estimate of the two establishments made at Illinois. They have estimated the buildings not according to the expenses

[2] Biever, Albert Hubert, S.J., *The Jesuits in New Orleans and the Mississippi Valley*, p. 33, New Orleans, 1924.

made six years ago, but according to those made today, when labor and cost of living have very much decreased in price, which makes a great difference to me.

You see, Sir, where I stand, namely, in a very great dilemma, not knowing how to get out. It would be at least a resource for me if the Company would be so kind as to regard the petition I made in the letter I wrote from San Domingo. Nothing is more just than that the Company pay for the Negroes, since I took the risk. I demand neither remittance nor donation, although I need them, but may I not expect, especially, since you are so kind as to take an interest in this matter, that the Company would grant me without difficulty a reserve of the half of our annuity payable in France, since it would make no difficulty to pay it even in full in case I had no debts here. This is the only way left me to pay the debts made in France, in the impossibility in which I am now to pay off there. I beg you, Sir, to omit nothing to induce the Company to grant me that favor.[3]

Whether or not the Company acceded to his plan regarding the financial adjustment is not known. But the plantation of the Jesuits developed into one of the most flourishing in the colony. Unlike the Jesuits, the Capuchins owned no plantations, because the Rule of their Order forbade the ownership of such landed estates. On March 15, 1727, Father de Beaubois arrived in Louisiana in company of Monsieur Perier, the new governor. A later ship brought the Ursuline Nuns and the additional Jesuits for the Indian Missions. At once Father de Beaubois made arrangements to assign each missionary to his proper post. An agreement had been reached between Messrs. Perier, de la Chaise and Father de Beaubois as to the monetary recompense the Jesuits should receive. Each Jesuit was to be given six hundred livres annually, with an additional allowance of two hundred livres for the first five years, to meet the special expense for the new establishments. At the same time the Capuchins appealed to the Company for the additional two hundred livres, since their missions were poorly equipped and in several places there was no church. The Company, however, refused them anything beyond the six hundred livres they had been receiving. On May 4, 1727, Father de Beaubois wrote to Abbé Raguet:

[3] Paris Arch. Col., C13A10, ff. 311-312.

> I have been satisfied with everything they wanted, despite my miserable situation and the certitude which I have that such a moderate sum cannot be sufficient to make the establishments. These gentlemen admit this and point out in their letter to the Company that they reckoned with the lowest prices. Could I venture to flatter myself that they will be so kind at Paris as to give attention to this? I make arrangements to send immediately all the Reverend Fathers to the posts for which they are destined. They lack neither health nor courage. I pity them beforehand and it gives me great pain to be unable to furnish them better with the things I know they will need. I have done what I could and even more than that, and although they still lack many things you will be surprised to know of the expense necessary for each missionary even before he departs for his post.[4]

One by one Father de Beaubois now sent his religious to evangelize the Indians. Father Petit was assigned to the Choctaws, Father de Guienne to the Alibamons, Father de Poisson to the Arkansas, Father Baudouin to the Chickasaws, Father Souel to the Yazoos, Father Guimonneau to the Metchigamias, Father d'Outreleau to the Quabache [Wabash at Vincennes], Father Tartarin to the village of Kaskaskias where he replaced Father de Kerebin. Father Le Boullenger was also kept at the latter place where he had been missionary for ten years. Father de Beaubois alone remained at New Orleans to serve the missionaries as Procurator. Left among the savages without any resources, these missionaries were compelled to procure provisions from the Company's stores, and often the most indispensable food was refused them. Thus Father de Guienne among the Alibamons was forced to live on beans and corn for six months. But the privations and hardships did not discourage these apostles; they labored with perseverance and God blessed their efforts.[5]

While the Jesuits toiled and suffered among the Indians, the Capuchins labored no less zealously among the French. In 1728 the status of the Capuchin Mission was as follows: Father Raphael, Vicar-General of the Bishop of Quebec and Curé of the City of

[4] Paris Arch. Col., C13A10, f. 312.

[5] Rochemonteix, Camille de, *Les Jesuites et la Nouvelle-France au XVIIIe Siècle*, I, pp. 293-296, Paris, 1906.

New Orleans; Father Hyacinth, Vicar at New Orleans; Frater Cyril, Deacon, Schoolmaster at New Orleans; Father Theodore with the Chapitoulas; Father Philip at the Village of Les Allemands; Father Gaspard [Caspar] at Balize; Father Mathias at Mobile; Father Maximin with the Natchitoches; Father Philibert with the Natchez; and Father Victorin, a Recollect joined to the Capuchins, with the Apalaches.[6]

There was no reason why the two Communities should not labor peacefully in the same field since the jurisdiction of each was well defined, Father Raphael being Vicar-General for the colonists, and Father de Beaubois Vicar-General for the Indians. According to Father de Beaubois' letter of May 4, 1727, the Capuchins did not conceal their displeasure at his arrival. He says:

> I had always been convinced that our arrival in this country would not please the Reverend Capuchin Fathers, but I thought they would be more diplomatic and careful in hiding from me their uneasiness. I have been polite to them in every way. Nobody could have conducted himself with more caution and circumspection than we have done. I have yet to receive from them the least courtesy, on the contrary, I have received very gross rudeness from them on several occasions. I hang my head very modestly, as it behooves me, but I have recourse to time to dispel the chimerical ideas they have and of which they must be soon disabused. I tell you frankly that I laugh sometimes at the pains they take for nothing, and that I frighten them whom I have always loved and for whom I wish nothing but good.
>
> The Article of our Treaty that regards the consent of these Reverend Fathers to exercise our functions at New Orleans, must not make any difficulty, and they would do great wrong to suspect that I solicited it either directly or indirectly. I heard of it the next day after it had been made in the morning before, but previous to that time I had heard nothing about it.
>
> The *Gironde* has not arrived, and I begin to feel uneasy about our poor Sisters. They are expected here with impatience and the Reverend Father Raphael is the only person who finds this establishment ridiculous, he himself has told me so. They [the Sisters] will surely do very much good here and will be a great help to the families whose children are deprived of all education.[7]

[6] Paris Arch. Col., B43, ff. 775-776.

[7] Paris Arch. Col., C13A10, f. 312.

True, the Capuchins might not have concealed their wounded feelings at the arrival of Father de Beaubois. They were human, and the evidence they had of his insincerity probably chilled the welcome they might otherwise have accorded. In regard to the article of the Jesuit treaty forbidding these Fathers the exercise of ecclesiastical function without permission of the Capuchins, we notice a discrepancy between Father de Beaubois' present statement and that which he made in his letter of April 8, 1726, announcing his coming to Father Raphael. Here he denies that he solicited this provision, but in his former letter he says expressly, "I shall be there as a private man and a simple inhabitant without exercising any function, and I have willingly promised not even to use the powers there which I shall give to others. *This clause which I have proposed to the Company to insert expressly into our treaty* . . . will evidently prove to everyone . . . that I have never had any of those ideas which are ascribed to me." [8] How explain this difference in statements? Is it probable that the negotiator of the treaty forgot the part he played in so important a matter?

But what is to be held of Father Raphael's disparaging criticism of the Ursuline School which Father de Beaubois was instrumental in founding? Frankly, he was wrong. But we feel inclined to say that his remark was hasty and inspired by a natural aversion to a man who, while apparently a friend, was in reality an intriguing enemy. Surely the fine logic and judgment revealed in his numerous letters, yes, his own tireless efforts on behalf of the Capuchin school for boys which he opened almost immediately after his arrival in the Mission, exclude the supposition that Father Raphael was an enemy of education. His disparaging remark was probably made in an unguarded moment when his feelings of resentment were aroused. But in reality the Capuchin Vicar-General was intent on living in peace and harmony with the Jesuits. The treaty had been made with them, they were now in Louisiana and their superior was in New Orleans; it was only reasonable to forget objections and offer them the glad hand of friendship. In this tenor the Capuchin Superior wrote to the Ecclesiastical Director on April 18, 1727:

[8] Paris Arch. Col., C13A10, f. 60.

I can assure you also, Sir, that I shall never have any quarrel with the Reverend Jesuit Fathers and I shall restrain with all my power our Fathers from giving them any cause for displeasure. I am too much opposed to quarrels to act otherwise and I would rather leave everything to them than to start the least dispute which might scandalize the people. My uneasiness on account of their establishment at New Orleans was never very great, and if I have written to Bishop de Mornay, it was only to inform him of the troubles which might arise because of the independence given to both, there being no superior to unite them.

At his arrival, Reverend Father de Beaubois spread the rumor that he had in hand an important letter which I had written against him while he was in France. Several people to whom he had spoken about this, drew my attention to it as an affair which might have evil consequences. Nevertheless, it did not have any such consequences, for when I spoke to Reverend Father de Beaubois several days after his arrival, I let him know that I had stated nothing which was not to the point, or contrary to fact, that as proofs I had letters written by his own hand and that I knew of some of his attempts to disguise his movements. This settled the case and no more was spoken of it. We had several other explanations but they regarded purely spiritual matters.[9]

In reply Abbé Raguet wrote Father Raphael a long letter on October 25, of the same year, which is brimful of advice and encouragement. Strange to say, he made no comment on Father de Beaubois' imprudence in spreading knowledge among the people that the Capuchin Superior had written to France against him, but he emphasized the necessity of forming a strong union between the Capuchins and Jesuits, adding that only mutual confidence could make their saintly projects thrive. He also stressed the point that the Jesuits were highly esteemed by both Bishop Saint Vallier and Bishop de Mornay. The burden of his advice tc Father Raphael was that as a noble-minded man he should meet the Jesuits half way and in case of friction to quietly seek an understanding. Finally, he voiced his disapproval of Father Raphael's prompt advancement of faculties to Father de Beaubois:

As soon as the Jesuits appeared in the country, you have immediately granted them faculties. Tell me the truth, was

[9] Paris Arch. Col., C13A10, f. 321.

there not a little affectation in this naive liberality? The people are told from the pulpit before they themselves [Jesuits] knew about it. I will not venture to believe that by this so liberal and sudden act of grace you intended to give yourself the right to treat them less generously later on. Without blaming you, in your position I should have waited till Father de Beaubois had asked me for faculties and then I should have given them to him graciously. This would have been the right way.

However, your quarrels should never become known; it is a shame that the ministers of God should become an annoyance to the people. I have spoken to you about quarrels and principles in my other letter. In the present letter I shall have the privilege of telling you something about the jurisdiction, the Diocesan Statutes and the necessity of appealing to the Bishop of Quebec or Bishop de Mornay by laying before them precise questions, behaving meanwhile as a reasonable and dignified minister. This wisdom consists in letting things go on as ever regarding seculars, so long as a decision has not been made. You know full well that cases of discipline may admit some measure of forbearance and lenity. Great God! How many inconveniences a grain of charity will remove! I trust in the Lord that both of you have this precious grain. Settle your quarrels, do favors to one another and you will not have these embarrassments you dread so much and which you believe will disgust you and make you abandon your post. What could I tell you about an idea which gives me so much pain and which you cannot retain without displeasing God! The fidelity of the Company, my sincere friendship for you, the ever-ready support of Messrs. Perier and de la Chaise, the privileged flock committed to your care, moreover, the order which after so much trouble was established in the colony, are these, Reverend Father, the causes of disgust you speak about? [10]

The prompt grant of faculties to Father de Beaubois need not necessarily imply the affectation of which Abbé Raguet speaks. Father Raphael was straightforward both in praise and blame, and since the Jesuits were admitted to the Capuchin district he performed his duty by proffering faculties at once. His act may have been a worthy advance indicating goodwill to the newcomers. Nor is it sure that his pulpit reference to the Jesuits was uncalled for.

[10] Paris Arch. Col., C13A10, f. 337.

Did not Father de Beaubois speak disparagingly of the Capuchins and create the rumor that when returning from France he would settle in New Orleans to administer the affairs of the Church more efficiently than the Capuchins? And did not the recalcitrant element of the colony refer to the coming of the Jesuits and to the privileges they expected to receive? Was it not proper to disabuse the people of their false expectations and remind them that if the Jesuits came to Louisiana they would come as missionaries to the Indians and not to the French? There is, then, no sound reason for supposing that unworthy "affectation" in Father Raphael's conduct towards the Jesuits. In his letter of April 18, 1727, to Abbé Raguet, Father Raphael gives a description of himself, the sincerity of which we have no reason to doubt:

> You see, Sir, that it will not be my fault if we do not live in harmony with the Reverend Jesuit Fathers, and that I am far removed from jealousy which you in all truth call a baseness of mind and a weakness in faith. Those who know me intimately reproach me for a too great indolence in all matters which regard myself than for one of those passions which make one restless. The reproaches, however, which were often made to me on that score, have never yet been able to make me more attentive to my personal interests. Yet, if I am free from all fault on this score, there is a multitude of others which must humble me before God and man. I shall try, Sir, to profit by your advice as to longanimity which you counsel me to practise. I see nothing greater in Christian moral teaching than this virtue. It is the touchstone of all others, and I believe that its merit is but little below martyrdom. Yet I confess that the same indolence of nature which frees me from certain tumultuous passions, does not permit me to hold out long against difficulties, when they are a little too embarrassing. I easily give way to the temptation to give up everything and this shows me plainly that I am greatly in need of the virtue you so prudently recommend.[11]

But despite all efforts to live in peace and harmony with Father de Beaubois, the Capuchins soon awakened to the futility of their hopes. Events soon proved that their suspicions and fears because of Father de Beaubois' residence in New Orleans were well founded.

[11] Paris Arch. Col., C13A10, f. 323.

The conduct of the Jesuit in needlessly telling the people that Father Raphael had written to France against him foreshadowed that he had come to the Mission not as a humble servant or "private man" but rather as the master. Within a month of his arrival he openly laid claim to the same faculties for the *Forum Internum* at New Orleans as he had as Vicar-General in the Illinois. This was a vain assumption, he had no such faculties for New Orleans at that time, for as Father Raphael said: "If I happened to be in Illinois, I should have none at all, because the intention of the Bishop of Quebec was that each should keep within the bounds of his own Mission," [12] and according to the wording of the treaty which the Bishop of Quebec had recognized, Father de Beaubois was to exercise no parochial functions at New Orleans without the consent of the Capuchin Vicar-General. Evidently Father de Beaubois had no right to presume the same faculties in New Orleans as he enjoyed as Vicar-General of the Illinois. But this was just the beginning of his pretensions. Soon after this assumption he censured the Capuchin Vicar-General for restricting the privileges of the missionaries in forbidding them to say Mass indiscriminately in private houses without express permission, unless they are on a journey or must consecrate Viaticum for a person living far from a church. Father Raphael admitted that he had issued this prohibition, but with a view to oblige people in larger settlements to erect little chapels to be used exclusively for worship. This they were well able to do, but, lacking respect for religion, were content to have Mass said in unbecoming environment and with inconvenience for the missionary. Moreover, Father Raphael's prohibition was the express legislation of Bishop Saint Vallier, who had promulgated the following Statute:

> No ecclesiastic or religious throughout the extent of the colony is allowed to say Mass on his voyage or missionary visits outside the church or chapel. We regard this article so important for the honor of religion, that we do not only prohibit it, but also make it a reserved case for the second time [of transgression] and for the third time, a prohibition under pain of suspension for secular priests as well as for religious, excepting, of course, the case of extreme necessity when the

[12] *Ibid.*, f. 322.

> Viaticum must be provided for an ill person to whom the Blessed Sacrament can not be carried on account of the too great distance from the church. If there should still be some place too far from the churches, where We find it absolutely necessary to allow Mass to be said sometimes, We declare that We will give our permission only in writing, after all measures have been taken to have it said with all decency suitable to so great a mystery.[13]

In justification of his action Father Raphael wrote to Abbé Raguet:

> This, Sir, is the Statute which I had made public together with some others which I deemed necessary to make known to our people to give greater weight to the sermons of our missionaries. If the Reverend Jesuit Fathers have privileges which exempt them, we shall not quarrel with them about it nor about the jurisdiction of Reverend Father de Beaubois in particular, because I most willingly consent to their using their privileges as they see fit, provided our Lords the Bishops decree nothing to the contrary. Since it is their flock that is entrusted to us, it is their privilege to indicate how they wish us to lead it. I feel the same way regarding the Sisters, who will come. I shall give them full liberty to choose as confessor whomsoever they desire.[14]

What more could be expected? Conscientious man of principle as he was, Father Raphael would do his utmost to maintain peace and unity between the two Orders. But his efforts were in vain. Father de Beaubois' ambition was of the highest and most persistent type and as the days went on his character unfolded more and more. In his Memoir of 1728, Abbé Raguet says:

> All would have been tranquil if Father de Beaubois, Superior of the Jesuit Mission, had been punctual in keeping his engagements. He had agreed in drawing up the articles of the agreement with the Company, on the express condition *that there should not be at New Orleans any ecclesiastical function without the consent of the Capuchins.* He had signed with his superiors the same agreement carrying this condition. He had promised M. de Mornay, then Coadjutor and now Bishop of

[13] Paris Arch. Col., C13A10, ff. 322-323.
[14] *Ibid.*, f. 323.

> Quebec, to comply with it faithfully, and finally he had written to Father Raphael, Superior of the Capuchins, that he was soon coming to New Orleans to live there as a plain, private citizen, and meanwhile during all this time he was working at Quebec with the Bishop to have him accord to him the rank and authority of Vicar General, even of New Orleans.[15]

What moved the Jesuit to change his mind after signing the treaty? What secret intention engrossed his mind when he accepted the stipulation which the Company laid before him? This is difficult to answer. But the fact is undeniable that whilst he signed with one hand the provision not to exercise any functions at New Orleans without the consent of the Capuchins, he wrote with the other to the Bishop of Quebec to confer on him the rank of Vicar-General for New Orleans and also to make him superior of the Ursuline Nuns. Bishop Saint Vallier was not prompt in answering this letter. Months went by, and only at the beginning of August, 1727, five months after he had settled in New Orleans, did Father de Beaubois receive a reply. Immediately upon receipt of the Bishop's letter, Father de Beaubois presented it to the Public Recorder to have it registered, for according to the Gallican Law all important ordinances were considered null and void unless recorded in the public office. When the Gentlemen of the Council had learnt the nature of this letter they did not think themselves bound to record it, because there was no question of an authentic act but of a simple letter whose signature could not be verified, and, moreover, because the affair was purely ecclesiastical. Hence these authorities rather advised Father de Beaubois to do something more logical, namely, present his letter to the present Vicar-General and come to an agreement with him. Accordingly, on leaving the office Father de Beaubois came to the Capuchin Monastery, and although he had the Bishop's letter with him, he refused to show it to the Capuchins. He contented himself by telling Father Raphael in the presence of two other Capuchins that he had received powers of Vicar-General from the Bishop of Quebec and that His Lordship wishes him to exercise them at New Orleans and elsewhere.

Upon hearing this statement, Father Raphael responded that he knew of no such powers accorded him, but if they had been given

[15] Paris Arch. Col., C13A10, f. 298.

to him by the Bishop of Quebec, he should be prepared to take over the entire Mission of Louisiana, since the Capuchins preferred to return to France rather than expose themselves to the embarrassments which would inevitably result from the presence of two masters in the same field, each independent of the other. He, moreover, reminded Father de Beaubois of what he had written from Paris that he would live at New Orleans "as a private man and a simple inhabitant without exercising any function" and that he "would not even use the powers there which he would give to others." To this the Jesuit replied that it was true he had accepted the clause or stipulation, but that he himself knew the reasons why and told them to nobody; that in reality the Company could not demand such an agreement from him nor could he pledge himself to it, and that regarding the complaint of the Capuchins against the chapel he opened and the services he conducted without their permission, he owed them no apology, since he formed a Religious Community, and was at liberty to have not only a chapel but also a public church and all this in virtue of the Letters of his establishment.[16]

That Father de Beaubois was usurping faculties and powers he did not have is clear from his own letter of April 8, 1726. It was certainly not the intention of the Company that the Jesuits have a community at New Orleans, because after much argumentation the Company, more or less forced, agreed that they may have a hospice there where *one* Jesuit may reside as Procurator of the Mission. Unless these Fathers could produce Letters Patent from the King placing them on a par with the Capuchins at New Orleans they were violating the treaty of February 20, 1726. After Father de Beaubois had been reminded of all this, the conference came to an end with Father Raphael's request that the Jesuit be satisfied with the jurisdiction he now has over more than three-fourths of the colony, and should therefore not disturb the Capuchins in the little remaining to them, by pretensions in which they would never acquiesce.

The request was without effect. Father de Beaubois continued his usurpation of powers at New Orleans, basing his claims on the

[16] Paris Arch. Col., C13A10, f. 328.

Bishop's letter, which, although he had copies of it made, he showed neither the original nor a copy thereof to Father Raphael. This important letter on which the Jesuit based all his claims seems no longer extant and is known to us only from quotation. Thus, in his letter of November 17, 1727, to Abbé Raguet, Father de Beaubois refers to the Bishop's letter as follows:

> After some reproaches which he made to me regarding my agreement not to exercise any powers or functions without the consent of the Capuchins, His Lordship *commands* me to exercise my powers of Vicar-General even at New Orleans as well as in the entire colony, excepting no other missions but those of the Priests of the Foreign Missions; finally, he constitutes me in due form superior of the nuns and the hospital of which they have care.[17]

Not having the original letter, it would be presumptuous to hazard an opinion on the interpretation of Father de Beaubois, but if we adopt the views of Father Raphael, Abbé Raguet and the Councillors who had the letter in hand, there was on the part of the Bishop a more or less non-committal remark, or a simple acquiesence in the request of Father de Beaubois made subject, however, to Bishop de Mornay's and Father Raphael's approval. Father de Beaubois, however, interpreted the Bishop's simple remark as a command enjoined on him to execute. On August 4, 1727, Father de Beaubois wrote a letter to Father Raphael purporting to give the contents of the Bishop's letter. Father Raphael studied it attentively, and after comparing it with a copy of the original which a lay person had shown him, wrote his own comments on the margin. This document, preserved in the Paris Archives, is valuable not only as the best source for the contents of Bishop Saint Vallier's letter, but also as giving in detail the Capuchin interpretation versus the Jesuit. In a preliminary remark Father Raphael says:

> The most wise man denies, but Father de Beaubois has not only never shown that letter in the original to Father Raphael, he has not even given him a copy of it since he deposited it at the Registrar's office four months ago, although he admits in

[17] Rochemonteix, *Op. cit.*, p. 298.

his letter that this should be done and promises to do so immediately. We may believe that he has acted thus, because it does not appear from this letter that His Lordship of Quebec gives such precise orders and speaks so emphatically as master who means to be obeyed as Fr. de Beaubois would like to make us believe. We see, on the contrary, that this Prelate, whilst granting to the Reverend Father de Beaubois the powers which he had asked him for, *wishes that he use them with prudence and that he have more regard for what behooves him than for what he could do by right. It is likewise very plain that His Lordship, the Bishop, does not pretend to decide absolutely, since he refers the matter to His Lordship, the Coadjutor* [de Mornay] *to whom he has written to act as Mediator between Father de Beaubois and the Capuchins.* Therefore, both have to take recourse to this mediator and suspend everything while awaiting the answer. This, Father Raphael has begged Father de Beaubois to do, although he [Fr. Raphael] could have based his rights on the letter which His Lordship de Mornay had done him the honor to write him and which contains his decision.[18]

After these preliminary remarks Father Raphael continues to comment separately on each statement which Father de Beaubois attributes to the Bishop. We give the document in full.

Father de Beaubois' Letter.	*Father Raphael's Comment.*
His Lordship of Quebec does not intend that I be entirely idle and inactive here.	In order not to be idle and inactive, Father de Beaubois needs only to place himself at the head of his missionaries and work along with them; there will be no lack of work for him. His office of superior demands this of him for the sake of good example, and people are reasonably surprised that a superior of missionaries acts as Procurator and busies himself with purely temporal matters in New Orleans. Since he is three hundred leagues from the centre of his missions, he cannot even be consulted by his religious in the difficulties

[18] Paris Arch. Col., C13A10, f. 61.

Father de Beaubois' Letter.

Therefore, the Bishop of Quebec wills:
1) That, as always, I continue to be his Vicar-General and that I exercise the functions in New Orleans.

2) His Lordship declares me superior of the Ursuline Nuns whose foundation in this country is due to me. This, in two words, is the gist of his letter which he himself calls "letter of Vicar-General."

Father Raphael's Comment.

which arise and cause embarrassments at times. He could be easily replaced here by a lay brother or somebody else whom those temporal occupations would become more than a superior charged with the spiritual affairs of such an extended mission as that of the Reverend Jesuit Fathers in this colony. Moreover, *he is very free to exercise the functions of his ministry in New Orleans. Far from opposing this, Father Raphael has even prayed him to do so, but he wants to exercise the functions of Vicar-General and has told Father Raphael in the presence of two priests that he intends nothing else but to grant in that quality some dispensations to persons who will apply to him for them.* Surely, this will not keep him busy enough to draw him out of his alleged inactivity.

The terms of the Bishop's letter do not indicate that he wills it, but that upon the request and exposé he agrees with him that he can do so. That is the way His Lordship explains the Diocesan Statutes in his favor.

People know that Father de Beaubois forced the superioress of the Ursulines to write, so that he might obtain that office. He has exercised it and still exercises it, not only without the consent of the Capuchin Superior, but also without informing him of what goes on in that commu-

Father de Beaubois' Letter.

On the other hand, Reverend Father, by the treaty I made with the Company, I durst not exercise any ecclesiastical functions without your consent. The question is, therefore, Reverend Father, will you submit to the orders of our Bishop and give your consent. The affair is delicate both for you and me, and I believe still more for you than for me. If I perform the functions here in future as I am authorized and obliged to do by the Bishop, without, however, your consent, besides the bad effect caused by the scandal that would follow, the Company might perhaps, complain of it. I have said "perhaps" because there are many things that could be said about this matter. Now, Reverend Father, after the step I take today to inform you and to demand your consent, how will you give an account to the

Father Raphael's Comment.

nity of nuns, as if the functions which he exercises as superior of the nuns would not be ecclesiastical functions which he has expressly relinquished in his treaty with the Company. The gist of the Bishop's letter which he gives here is not correct. He should have added the *modifications which His Lordship subjoins and which are essential to the letter,* and *he should not make the Bishop say what he wishes him to say, since His Lordship does not say so by any means.*

If the honesty required in treaties were not lacking in that which Father de Beaubois made with the Company, no matter what powers he had otherwise, he is bound to avoid using them independently of the superior of the Capuchins. It seems that the most delicate point in this affair, I mention it openly, is to harmonize good faith in making treaties with the behavior and pretensions of Reverend Father de Beaubois. Yet he pretends, I know not with what reason, that the clause of his treaty by which he renounces all ecclesiastical functions at New Orleans, cannot stand and that *the Gentlemen of the Company had it inserted because they do not know ecclesiastical affairs.* In this way he explained himself to Father Raphael and others and this is what he means by the "many things which could

Father de Beaubois' Letter.

Bishop for not executing his orders? He explains himself forcibly and clearly and speaks as the master who would be obeyed. He is our Bishop and Superior and you know better than I the principles and rules of true obedience which we owe him who honors us with his confidence, who is so good as to clothe us with his whole authority and who entrusts us with half his flock.

Father Raphael's Comment.

be said regarding the complaints of the Company as to the inexecution of the treaty."

As to Father Raphael, he does not see where the affair is very delicate for him. *He has received no orders from His Lordship of Quebec to give his consent to the pretensions of Reverend Father de Beaubois. Nobody ever showed him any. His Lordship has given him no instructions, what he would not have failed to do, if his intention had been to oblige him absolutely to approve the designs of Reverend Father de Beaubois. However, thinking that some difficulties could be raised by the use of the powers he has granted to the Reverend Father, he has charged His Lordship the Coadjutor, to remove them by mediation between the Jesuits and the Capuchins.*

At the same time, Father Raphael has received a letter from this Prelate [de Mornay] *which maintains him in his rights in a manner which leaves no doubt, and he is so far removed from causing scandal that he has declared and declares again that rather than let things come to such an unpleasant extremity, he will leave the colony with all his religious.* Therefore, all the things which Reverend Father de Beaubois sets forth here regarding the account which His Lordship the Bishop will demand of Father Raphael, and the obedience due to the orders of His Lordship, does not disquiet him in the least.

Father de Beaubois' Letter.

Can we believe without doing him an injustice, Reverend Father, that he has taken this course without pondering it well, and that when he limits my office of Vicar-General in this only that I am restrained from extending my powers over the missions and missionaries of the Foreign Missions, he does not make it sufficiently clear that in my exercising them at New Orleans he sees not the difficulties which you find therein, although he views things with the eye of a master?

Father Raphael's Comment.

We must presuppose so much wisdom and justice on the part of His Lordship of Quebec, that when he is well informed of the reasons why the Capuchins in their missionary district do not want to be subordinated to the Reverend Father de Beaubois, His Lordship who as yet has decided nothing in the matter, will give precise orders affecting both, either dismissing the Capuchins, or stopping the Reverend Father de Beaubois from exercising over them and their missions a power which he does not exercise over the missions and Missionaries of the Foreign Missions.

I will note here that the pretension of Reverend Father de Beaubois is that he will exercise his powers not only over the Missions of the Capuchins, but also over their persons. This will cause considerable trouble, for thereby the Reverend Father de Beaubois could dispose at will of the posts occupied by the Capuchins, make visitations to them, suspend them, *etc.* Therefore, to what quarrels would not all this lead as soon as the two superiors would not agree in one and the same matter.

Reverend Father de Beaubois has not taken care to inform His Lordship of all these difficulties, and we may believe without doing His Lordship any injustice, that Reverend Father de Beaubois has taken him by surprise owing to a wrong description of the state of our Mission.

Father de Beaubois' Letter.

As far as I am concerned, I vow in the sight of God that the more I think over the matter, sounding my heart and presupposing good intentions on your part, the less I understand what causes you all this uneasiness.

On the contrary, to be frank, the consent which you will give will honor you just as much as your refusal will make you and your ministry odious. People of your parish will never be convinced that you are acting with true zeal for the glory of God and with a sincere love for good order. My inaction will only cause greater surprise in future, always reminding people of the little respect you have accorded the Bishop's orders, while the licentious people will make this a pretext to disobey you and, perhaps, to despise you.

Our union and good understanding in the exercise, as it were, of the same authority, will make you respected by the one and feared by the other.

Father Raphael's Comment.

What is there to make Reverend Father de Beaubois fear when the Capuchins will consent to be subordinated to him and to recognize him as their superior? The more one reflects on the eagnerness with which he pursues this office, the less convinced is one that he will use his powers with that moderation necessary to avoid quarrels.

The Reverend Father de Beaubois is wrong. The people think differently. The most enlightened, the most unselfish and best intentioned people for the maintenance of good order find that Father Raphael uses his powers with great moderation and they protest strongly against the domineering spirit which the Reverend Father de Beaubois manifests in this affiair.

Moreover, they canot understand how a priest and a religious can be so faithless as to take steps to violate a most authentic treaty at the very time when he confirms it by his own signature and by a letter which he writes. This is what might make the ministry and the minister odious and not the just refusal of the Capuchins to consent that Reverend Father de Beaubois become their superior and dispose as master of their Missions and their persons.

Father Raphael has no reason to be dissatisfied with the marks of consideration which the good people have shown him up to the present, nor is he seeking to make himself feared by others.

Father de Beaubois' Letter.

Father Raphael's Comment.

All roads are good for him provided they lead to salvation. (Toutes voies luy sont bonnes pourvu qu'elles conduisent au Salut). At all events, if there is need to make himself feared, thanks be to God, those who are now at the head of the colony are so intent on good order that he can count for certain on their support in case it should be necessary to repress evil-doers by other means than those of the Church.

But you fear this union does not exist and that I place obstacles in its way. The manner in which I have the honor to write to you, likewise the conduct which I have hitherto shown, despite, it may be said without reproach, the little attention you have given me, must dissipate this fear.

What is feared with good reasons is that the union does not exist, and that as long as the Capuchins will not see fit to submit blindly to everything which it shall please the Reverend Father de Beaubois to prescribe for them, neither the manner in which the Reverend Father de Beaubois writes to Father Raphael, nor the conduct he has hitherto shown, can reassure them. Moreover, his letter which makes His Lordship say what he did not say, which suppresses what he expressly says, which openly ascribes to him sentiments which he has not, seems to have been written only to throw him off his guard by intimidating him. The conduct he has hitherto shown and the little scruple he has had in violating his treaty with the Company, are no convincing motives that one can rely on his word.

It is now up to you, Reverend Father, to see that my true in-

Everyone sees pretty well that it would be to the interest of

Father de Beaubois' Letter.	*Father Raphael's Comment.*
terest demands, if I would maintain and improve the great enterprise with which I am charged, that I keep you and your Reverend Fathers at your posts as long as it depends on me, and for this I have worked.	Reverend Father de Beaubois that the Capuchins, once subordinated to him as he intends, should be retained at their posts. These religious would have as their lot the burdens of the day and the heats and all contradictions inseparable from the ministry, whereas nothing of the kind would fall to Reverend Father de Beaubois, and since the Capuchins have reason to believe that these are his ideas, they need not thank him for having, as he says, worked to keep them at their posts. Besides, the Capuchins being established in their missions not only by Letters Patent of the Company but also by such of the King, forbidding any molestation of them there, they can dispense the Reverend Father de Beaubois from troubling himself to keep them there. What he says thereon smacks a little too much of the master and the man of importance.
Moreover, I know only too well the intentions of His Lordship on this point, and I know too well how I am obliged to enter into his ideas.	If the intentions of His Lordship of Quebec are that the Capuchins continue to serve in his diocese, and if the Reverend Father de Beaubois knows them so well, he cannot better enter into the ideas of His Lordship than by letting these religious in peace and not troubling them by pretensions to which they will never submit.
Finally, Reverend Father, I entreat you, to be convinced that I have enough religion to con-	Nobody doubts the religion of Reverend Father de Beaubois, but he will find it proper to be

Father de Beaubois' Letter.

duct myself so as to live in harmony with you. I see the consequences thereof and I surely did not come here to cross you and to destroy the work of God.

This may be as it is, Reverend Father, but you know what I had the honor to tell you. You may be sure of it, I again ask you for your friendship entreating you to discard all ideas to which, permit me to tell you, you have given too much freedom. Think maturely before God what you have to do; consider the step I take, the account you will have to render for the inactivity to which I am relegated, the contempt people will see you making of His Lordship's precise orders, if you refuse again to give your consent. Must the manner in which I write not show you without further explanation, that in this matter I work more for you than for myself, and that it is with a sincere desire to be your friend and to live with you in harmony that I have the honor to be

Respectfully, Reverend Father,

Your very humble and obedient servant,

N. I. de Beaubois, *Jesuit.*

August 4, 1727.[19]

Father Raphael's Comment.

reminded that one of the maxims of this religion pointed out by the Apostle is, not to seek to dominate over others nor to judge another man's servant. (Romans, XIV, 4) When this maxim is badly observed the consequences are annoying.

Since the Reverend Father de Beaubois restates here what he has already said several times regarding the supposed precise orders of His Lordship of Quebec, the consequences of the inexecution of his orders, the inaction to which the Reverend Father should not be relegated, and the step he takes in writing to Father Raphael, you will notice above all, his eagerness to obtain the end he has proposed for himself and which is no other than that he will become, at least in spiritual matters, the sole ruler of the entire colony.

For this he knows he needs the consent of Father Raphael, in order to escape the reproach of breaking the treaty he has made with the Company. With this object in view he omits nothing to convince Father Raphael that he has an indispensable obligation to give his consent, yet he knows that of all acts of the human will none is more free than consent, and that the attempt to force it is to nullify it. Although His Lordship of Quebec is absolute master who can grant and revoke his powers when he sees fit, he is too con-

[19] Paris Arch. Col., C13A10, f. 61-65.

Father de Beaubois' Letter. *Father Raphael's Comment.*

siderate to impose on Father Raphael a duty of obedience to give his consent against his will to something in which the whole body of Capuchins would see themselves wronged, and Reverend Father de Beaubois will not easily convince these Fathers that he works more for them than for himself when he works to subject them to the Jesuit Fathers.

This document speaks for itself, and shows graphically the strong contrast between the two characters. Father Raphael is the clear, discerning thinker, animated with a strict sense of justice and a goodly portion of charity. His conciliatory attitude is evident from the fact that he had asked Father de Beaubois to do pastoral work at New Orleans. For this "naive liberality" he was censured by Abbé Raguet, who held that he should have waited until Father de Beaubois had applied for faculties. But this criticism is altogether undeserved, the Capuchin merely followed the prompting of a charitable heart. Father de Beaubois, on the other hand, reminds us of a scheming intriguer bent on satisfying a pet ambition. His attempt to explain away the obligation contracted by his treaty, his determination to force his own interpretation of the Bishop's letter and his stout refusal to await the decision of Bishop de Mornay convict him of insincerity. What can be farther removed from the sense of fairness than the negative argument that, because Bishop Saint Vallier restricts his authority over the Seminary Priests of the Foreign Missions, he thereby gives him authority over the Capuchins? Deeming that Father de Beaubois would ultimately succeed in the designs he pursued so ardently, Father Raphael contemplated abandoning the Louisiana Mission and returning to France. Dreading a public scandal, he acquainted Messrs. Perier and de la Chaise with his fears. But these two highest authorities in the colony refused to hear of the Capuchins leaving the Mission and they urged them to face the struggle manfully, assuring them that since they were the first choice of the Company their claims would always be upheld.

But regardless of what the outcome should be, Father Raphael decided to present his case to the Supreme Authority in Paris and demand a definite decision. Accordingly, in a long letter dated November 24, 1727, he related the facts to the Ecclesiastical Director. This document, preserved in the Paris Archives of the Colonies, is a masterpiece of appeal, no less admirable for its cold logic than for its lofty sentiment of justice. In it the unwarranted assumption of power by Father de Beaubois and the deep resentment of the Capuchins to his pretensions are laid bare. Too long for verbal quotation, we can give merely a succinct synopsis of its contents.

The stipulation of the Company to the effect that only one Jesuit should reside at New Orleans and that he should exercise no ecclesiastical functions without the consent of the Capuchins; the letter of Father de Beaubois presaging peace and harmony and the letters of Bishops Saint Vallier and de Mornay with their assurances that both Capuchin and Jesuit jurisdiction should remain separate, had all contributed to the fond hopes of the Capuchins that the establishment of the Jesuits at New Orleans would not have the evil consequences they at first apprehended, or at least that friction should not come so soon. But then, it was necessary that Father de Beaubois should be as fair-minded as he was believed to be. But he failed his word. Whilst he subscribed to all provisions at Paris, and notified Father Raphael that he would live as a private person in New Orleans, he at the same time wrote the Bishop of Quebec for powers of Vicar-General. Such powers he pretended to have, though he never produced any credentials to the one who was first and foremost concerned, Father Raphael, himself Vicar-General for several years. Instead, he took it for granted that his word would not be questioned, and as completely independent, he opened a public chapel and exercised the functions at will.

Over the Ursuline Nuns, whom he was permitted to advise only as a friend, he ruled as superior, approving the chaplain of *La Gironde* to hear the confessions of those Sisters who refused to confess to him. In general, he followed the policy of giving Father Raphael no information of the Ursuline affairs. Prudent and well-meaning people had reminded Father Raphael that his silence might be taken by Father de Beaubois for consent, and that he would then pretend to be sufficiently authorized, but the Capuchin Vicar-General preferred to accord him this slender advantage than

to run the risk of creating a scandal. Father Raphael was a man of principle. He was determined that, if the Company would restrict the Jesuits to the terms of their treaty regarding the spiritual jurisdiction in New Orleans, the Capuchins would be the last to quarrel with them; but if the Company would sanction the pretensions of Father de Beaubois and permit him as Vicar-General to extend his jurisdiction over the Capuchin Mission, the latter were minded to retire, since they had borne all the drudgery and hardship inseparable from missionary beginnings.

One might be inclined to think that the Capuchin Superior, retaining the rank of Vicar-General, could always exercise its authority over his own religious and should have been contented with this assurance. Yet the difficulties that would evidently arise from the difference in the ruling principles of two supreme superiors in the same field loomed large in the eyes of the Capuchins, especially since they already had samples thereof. As instances of his contention Father Raphael related to Abbé Raguet the following concrete cases:

> I had given permission on the feast of St. Louis, a holy day of obligation in this diocese, to gather in the harvest which was in danger, but I had expressly forbidden the extension of this permission to other kinds of work. The Reverend Father de Beaubois who had no harvest to gather, ordered his people to work in the garden and to prepare timber for building. When they refused, quoting my prohibition, he told them that he was the master and that he could give dispensations for feast days whenever he found it good to do so. This dispute between himself and his workingmen created a scandal. On another occasion Reverend Father de Beaubois admitted to the sacraments a woman who was a little ill and whom I had refused owing to the scandalous life she has lived in the colony, and especially on account of the public concubinage in which she had actually been living. Reverend Father de Beaubois knew that she had applied to me at a time when his powers were contested and it would seem that he should have been more on the alert. He now uses his power with great haughtiness. Think, Sir, what we shall have to expect when all difficulties are removed by our giving consent.[20]

But besides these and similar conflicts that would arise from

[20] Paris Arch. Col., C13A10, f. 330.

time to time between Father de Beaubois and the Capuchins, the latter had other sound reasons which prompted them to ward off the pretensions of the Jesuit. They feared, first of all, that since Father de Beaubois had so promptly found means to free himself from the stipulation of his treaty so as now to share the authority with the Superior of the Capuchins in their district, he would also in the course of time again invent ways and means to arrogate to himself the entire authority. To do this pretexts would never be wanting, for the Capuchins, entrusted as they were with all the parishes, could not expect to avoid making this or that enemy if they wished to discharge their duty faithfully. In such a case it would be easy for Father de Beaubois to seize this opportunity to decry them and brand them as incapable of performing successfully their parochial obligations. A protest lodged and persistently urged with the authorities would easily lead to the expulsion of the Capuchins. Secondly, by this partition of authority, the Capuchins who had borne the labors of the day and heats in establishing their missions would now after five years be deprived of everything except the worry and contradiction, while the superior of the Jesuits in his rank of Vicar-General without care of souls would have the pleasant task of granting dispensations and privileges. This was neither just nor necessary. Finally, a third reason which compelled the Capuchins to spurn the pretensions of Father de Beaubois was because of the dishonor his assumption of power would reflect on them. Hitherto they have enjoyed independent jurisdiction, now, for no reason other than to satisfy Father de Beaubois' ambition, they are to become subjects, while the Jesuits and the Foreign Missionaries of Quebec retain their independent jurisdiction. Why should just the Capuchins be asked to sacrifice their independence?

To be sure, the Bishop of Quebec had full authority to make whatever change he pleased, but the Capuchins could not be convinced that the Bishop, otherwise so deferential to them, had of his own accord excepted them from his general rule, according to which each body of missionaries is to be independent in its own district. Had Bishop Saint Vallier received complaints that compelled him to discriminate against the Capuchins in so humiliating a manner? As for Father Raphael, he believed that Father de Beaubois had written to the Bishop disparagingly of the Capuchins and had

referred to them as incapable of managing their Mission without his authoritative supervision. The remarks that Father de Beaubois had made to his friends before sailing for France confirmed his suspicions. The latter had assured his friends that " the Capuchins were not fit to maintain a mission like this, and that at his return they should see a great change." [21] Might he not have written in a similar strain to the Bishop? The consideration he received at the Bishop's hands, undecisive as it was, seemed to warrant this conjecture.

But aside from the troubles Father de Beaubois was causing in ecclesiastical circles, he was also guilty of supporting the political party of malcontents in the colony. On this point Father Raphael spoke with equal frankness. Unreconciled to the appointment of Perier and de la Chaise as heads of the colony, the opponents continued to strain every nerve to embroil the two chiefs and cause disunion. The lowest means were resorted to in order to estrange them. Thus, while M. Perier voyaged to Mobile during the summer of 1727, his enemies profited by his absence to prejudice Madame Perier against her husband's colleague, M. de la Chaise. It had been reported that Mademoiselle de la Chaise had passed some very unbecoming remarks about Madame Perier. Had both parties remained ignorant of the report, no harm might have resulted. But contrary to all prudence, Father de Beaubois took it upon himself to carry the report to Madame Perier. Feelings were incensed and insults exchanged, in the course of which others became involved and thus the family difference threatened to result in a political quarrel, and might have entailed serious consequences had not Governor Perier returned to smooth out the difficulty in his own clever way. A thorough investigation was made, and the report was found to be false. Face to face with the charge of unnecessarily and imprudently aiding in the spread of the false report, Father de Beaubois tried to deny, but says Father Raphael, " Madame de Perier told him to his face that what was cast up to him he had said and nothing else." [22] Happily, after mutual explanations, Messrs. Perier and de la Chaise made new and stronger protestations to live in peace and harmony.

[21] Paris Arch. Col., C13A10, f. 332.
[22] Paris Arch. Col., C13A10, f. 333.

Here again is an instance of inexcusable meddling on the part of Father de Beaubois. Another man, more intent on the peace and welfare of the colony, far from giving credence to a story that might embroil these two first families, would have done his utmost to suppress or excuse anything that might cause discord. But it was publicly known that Father de Beaubois had made agreement with M. Bienville to work for his return to the colony and he thought best to accomplish it by involving in strife the two chiefs. This was the trump in the hands of all the malcontents, the soul of whom was Father de Beaubois.[23] Even shortly after his return to the colony, although outwardly on good terms with M. Perier, he began to work against him in favor of Bienville. He not only attended the meetings of the Bienville faction, but even offered his house for that purpose. "I should like, Sir," wrote Father Raphael to Abbé Raguet on April 18, 1727, "that you would find out from others rather than from me, the place where these meetings were held." [24] In his letter of April 25, of the same year, Governor Perier himself wrote to Abbé Raguet that at least once such a meeting was held at the home of Father de Beaubois.[25] Convinced from past experience that the old regime would be prejudicial to both Company and colony, Father Raphael was determined to thwart its return to power. Summing up his feelings and those of his Capuchin brethren, he closes his report as follows:

> These things, Sir, have forced me to speak and at the same time to take the liberty of representing to you that, if the Reverend Father de Beaubois remains at New Orleans and continues to make the encroachments he has made both in temporal and spiritual affairs, it will be impossible for the Capuchins to live there with him. As regards myself, I will abandon the game not only without pain but with pleasure. Independently of these new quarrels, I have applied to the Fathers of our Province for a recall and I flatter myself they will grant it, owing to the urgent request I have made. I have already suffered so many contradictions here and foresee so many more in future that I long only for a little Capuchin cell to live there in peace, and to devote to myself the few days I have still to live, being now a sexagenarian. All our religious feel the same

[23] *Ibid.*

[24] *Ibid.*, f. 321.

[25] Rochemonteix, *Op. cit.*, p. 290.

and not one will bewail his lot when he will be recalled to France to leave this place to the Jesuit Fathers.

You would never have thought how one could have imagined that these Fathers would take our posts, but this would be very indifferent to us. Yet since they came to trouble us with pretensions to which we cannot consent, things have now come to this pass. Therefore, Sir, I beg you, do not make any objections to giving us our leave, if everything remains in the same state regarding the Jesuit Fathers. The Company knows that, far from seeking the Missions of Louisiana, our superiors had excused themselves from accepting them as long as they could do so. That makes me believe that they will raise no difficulties in quitting them. The troubles which our religious suffered in these beginnings need not be taken into consideration; they would have to be greatly pitied, if they had tried to serve any other Master but God and had looked for their reward elsewhere.

If I take the liberty, Sir, to speak to you in this manner, it is because I am convinced of your good intentions regarding us. Still I do not forget that at the same time, one may find himself in a mess where it is difficult to square what seems just and reasonable with what the circumstances of times and persons seem to demand. For the rest, I think it better that we retire without making any noise, as long as we can still do it, than to wait till the irate spirits are driven to some excess which will dishonor the ministry. This is just what I have, above all, tried to avoid, when I opposed the Jesuit establishment in New Orleans. Neither a spirit of jealousy nor an ill-founded apprehension made me act, but what I saw here with my own eyes and what I heard with my own ears made me take measures to prevent the troubles to come. However, Sir, I commit everything to your prudence and I believe that I shall always take the better part when I shall take the one you think best. In this disposition, I have the honor to be, respectfully, Sir,

Your most humble and obedient servant,

Fr. Raphael, *Capuchin Priest.*[26]

Together with this indictment Father Raphael sent to Abbé Raguet the letter which Father de Beaubois had written him and on which he commented on the margin. Father Raphael's letter of November 24, 1727, and his comments on the letter of Father de Beaubois form, as Rochemonteix says, "the most violent indict-

[26] Paris Arch. Col., C13A10, ff. 334-335.

ment against his colleague in the great vicariate."[27] Briefly he accuses Father de Beaubois of exercising the parochial ministry contrary to his treaty, and of sowing discord between the two heads of the colony, Messrs. Perier and de la Chaise. There is no reason for doubting or under-estimating the charges of the Capuchin Vicar-General. Since Father de Beaubois received the letter from Bishop Saint Vallier he worked on the supposition that his treaty was no longer binding. The Church in Louisiana was now as a house divided against itself. To put an end to the disorder, Father Raphael and his missionaries were willing to sacrifice all and return quietly to France. But the Company which had the right of patronage over the Louisiana Church advised them to remain, and the Capuchins did well to obey the voice of authority. It may, on first thought, be argued that Father Raphael was too pessimistic and surrendered too readily to his imagination as to future evils. But he had concrete instances of bold assumption of power in support of his statements, and if his fears were exaggerated he, nevertheless, admitted his willingness to abide by the decision of the competent authority. That decision was soon to be given.

[27] *Op. cit.*, p. 299.

CHAPTER VIII

The Controversy Continued, 1735

The indictment of Father de Beaubois which the Capuchins presented to Abbé Raguet as Supreme Director of the Company was followed almost immediately by a report of like nature drawn up by Monsieur de la Chaise. He also descanted on the two main reasons of complaint against the Superior of the Jesuit Mission, namely, his violation of the treaty of February 20, 1726, and his machinations against the existing political regime. But these were not his only charges. He further accused the Jesuit of contracting foolish and unnecessary debts to execute his plans. We have already referred to the debts Father de Beaubois made in purchasing slaves in San Domingo, and also to those contracted in a building proposition in Illinois. Moreover, Rochemonteix [1] says, Father de Beaubois would rather run into debt than sacrifice the interests of religion. If we believe Father de Beaubois, his debts were justified. Writing to Abbé Raguet on May 2, 1728, he says:

> I have left to M. de la Chaise the house spoken of in our treaty which he demanded of me. He used it, abandoned it and did with it what he pleased, so that at my arrival [in New Orleans] I found it so ruined that none of the wood was good. For a whole year I have often and uselessly demanded that it be repaired and given to me. Since our arrival here we are forced to live in a delapidated house where I cannot store away any grain because everything we have there rots. I was therefore forced to make up my mind to build. . . . This building and the support of the missionaries to whom M. de la Chaise several times refused the necessities of life, were the two principal sources of debts against which M. de la Chaise raises his voice, undoubtedly to justify himself for not giving lodging to the missionary as the terms of the treaty demanded.[2]

There is no doubt that all missionaries, Capuchins and Jesuits and even the Ursulines, were underpaid by the Company. The Jesuits fared better than the Capuchins because of their plantations and trade and the additional 200 livres allowed them for five years

[1] *Op. cit.*, p. 293.

[2] *Ibid.*, p. 300, note.

to aid in their establishments. As remarked elsewhere, the Capuchins had neither plantations nor stores because of their vow of poverty. Moreover, Father Raphael considered this trafficking in the Mission as too disturbing and unbecoming the priestly dignity, and together with the rest of his brethren preferred to eke out his living in true Franciscan manner. In how far Father de Beaubois was guilty of making unnecessary debts under these unfavorable circumstances in which all the missionaries lived is hard to say. But, nevertheless, this was one of the charges brought against him by the Company.

As in most cases of quarrels, exaggerations were also frequent and sometimes serious against Father de Beaubois. Letters from all sides were sent to France describing him as a restless, turbulent, ambitious fomenter of quarrels, whose conduct was unworthy of a reasonable man, much less of a religious. Indeed, the charges penetrated his private life and, as Rochemonteix says, attacks were even made on his reputation. But again, the Father's imprudence paved the way for this, for during the voyage from France to Louisiana he was somewhat indiscreet in his association with the maid of Madame Perier. Such conduct gave rise to dangerous suspicions which led Madame Perier to complain to the Jesuit Provincial who disapproved very seriously of Father de Beaubois' conduct and discussed the matter with Father d'Avaugour, Procurator of the missions.[3] It is therefore wrong to suppose that the Capuchins were responsible for all the charges against their fellow-missionary, though undoubtedly they had their radical and unscrupulous element that did not disdain to shout with the rabble against their opponent. "I pity Father Raphael," wrote Governor Perier to Abbé Raguet on October 18, 1728," for having three or four bad subjects; if they continue to send him similar men their Mission will fall to pieces of itself."[4] However, the final issue respected none but well-substantiated charges, and branded many as exaggerated and calumnious. Father Raphael, who was always considered a dignified and trustworthy priest, was the spokesman for his party and his word was highly respected by the Company.

On March 24, 1728, the Inspectors of the Company met at Paris

[3] Paris Arch. Col., F5A3, f. 233.

[4] Rochemonteix, *Op. cit.*, p. 302.

under the presidency of Abbé Raguet to sift the mass of evidence against Father de Beaubois. The indictments of Father Raphael and M. de la Chaise, the letters of Bishops Saint Vallier and de Mornay were produced and studied thoroughly before the final decision was reached. Throughout the trial Abbé Raguet was the staunch defendant of Father de Beaubois, and tried every means to spare him the humiliation of exile from Louisiana. He pleaded, first of all, to allow the Jesuit to remain in New Orleans but with very strict and definite orders to live up to his treaty, but his suggestion met with no sympathy from the assembled Inspectors. He next begged them to send Father de Beaubois to the Yazoos, which would remove him from New Orleans but at the same time keep him in the Louisiana Mission. Again he was voted down. A third time he proposed the appointment of a new superior for the Jesuit Mission and sending Father de Beaubois to the Illinois, but again the Company was inexorable. Fearing to expose the colony again, it decided that Father de Beaubois should be recalled to France, and Abbé Raguet was ordered to notify the Jesuit Superiors to that effect. The next day, March 25, the Director acted on these instructions and wrote to Father d'Avaugour. After assuring him of the efforts he had made to save the honor of the Society of Jesus, he says:

> After all we have learnt regarding the conduct of Father de Beaubois, I confess that I am of the same opinion as these Gentlemen, that it is to the interest of your Society, of the Mission and of our establishment, that he be discharged, that he can work out his salvation only by living in obedience in some house where he is watched. He has conducted himself so meanly that they of the Company think of him only with extreme aversion, and if he should remain in the colony, people would infallibly impute to him all the evil that might arise both among the French and among the savages and every trouble would become his crime.
>
> Remember, that these new troubles are mostly a repetition of older ones. Our Messieurs remember them only too well and this is absolutely no pleasure to me. They remember, too, all that I said and did to retain this Father against their unanimous opinion. I have explained my reasons to you before. . . . Our mail, Reverend Father, leaves for the East on the day following the feastdays. Hence, I beg you to induce

the Father Provincial not to delay his answer to the Company nor his own orders.

I have the honor to be with a sincere and respectful attachment, dear Reverend Father,

Your most humble and obedient servant,

Abbé Raguet.

You will have the kindness to see, what will be proper to do with the papers of Vicar-General in the missions of the savages which will be suitable for the successor of Father de Beaubois.[5]

Of this important document, Rochemonteix quotes only two sentences, namely, that which says the Company has an extreme aversion for Father de Beaubois [6] and the postscript which announces that the new superior will have the title of Vicar-General for the missions of the savages.[7] The rest of the letter this author studiously omits because it does not harmonize with his theory, that Father de Beaubois was dismissed for no other reason than for usurping the functions of Vicar-General without the consent of the Capuchins. Again he says: "Only one accusation seemed definitely and clearly proven to Raguet, the Father had violated the treaty in seeking to obtain the title and authority of Vicar-General in New Orleans." [8] Any fair-minded person reading the entire letter of Raguet to Father d'Avaugour will judge differently, for the writer says plainly, that Father de Beaubois had simply made himself impossible in Louisiana. With the letter to the Jesuit Procurator, Abbé Raguet sent also the official letter to the Provincial which runs as follows:

Reverend Father,

In the treaty concluded between your Reverend Fathers and the Company of the Indies on February 20, 1726, it is stated in Article 24:

The Superior of the missions may reside in New Orleans, but on condition that he exercise no ecclesiastical functions without the consent of the Superior of the Capuchins.

It is also stipulated in Articles 9 and 10, that in Louisiana *the religious and other ecclesiastical persons shall give to the*

[5] Paris Arch. Col., F5A3, ff. 179-180.

[6] Rochemonteix, *Op. cit.*, p. 303.

[7] *Ibid.*, p. 304, note.

[8] *Ibid.*, p. 303.

French and Indians the example of a great love for order and peace which they owe them.

Finally it is prescribed in Article 10 that, *when a missionary does not conduct himself there in a manner pleasing to the Company so that there are reasons for complaints, the Father Provincial shall be obliged to recall him and replace him by another.*

Pursuant to these Articles, Reverend Father, the Company asks and demands of you to recall Father de Beaubois, since it is absolutely decided that he remain no longer in the colony, and to nominate in his place another superior for the missions of the savages. Your Reverence is informed of a part of this missionary's faults, especially those which disturb and harm order, good faith and peace. By the last ship a quantity of complaints was sent us which charge him with other disorderly conduct, the rumor of which has unfortunately spread in the colony, and all this together has convinced us that his presence there will only cause harm.

Be so kind, Reverend Father, as to notify us of the course you will take, both as to the recall of Father de Beaubois and as to the choice of his successor, so that we can act in accord with you.[9]

This letter, so precise and unmistakable in its statements, is ignored by Rochemonteix, either because it was not at his disposal or because it militated against his contention. But again we see that Abbé Raguet states plainly that there were other reasons which called for Father de Beaubois' dismissal, besides the main reason of his having usurped the powers of Vicar-General. The second reason is because he caused serious troubles in the colony and the third, because the rumors spread against him made his stay impossible. We do not hold that each of the many charges proffered against him was made the subject of special investigation and pronouncement. Many of them we believe to have been exaggerations and calumnies, as the Company stated in its official Memoir on the case,[10] but there is no denying the fact that the unhappy priest either from temperament or malice was, in the mind of the Company, no longer a fit apostle for the Louisiana Mission.

On April 3, 1728, Abbé Raguet had the unpleasant task of notifying Father de Beaubois of his recall from the colony.

[9] Paris Arch. Col., F5A3, f. 181.

[10] Paris Arch. Col., C13A12, ff. 214-258.

Si Pergama dextra deffendi possent, etiam hac defensa fuissent. Rest assured, Reverend Father, I left nothing undone, but I found the Company inexorable. In vain I begged the Gentlemen who are the Inspectors to retain you in the colony even though you should not remain in New Orleans. They do not even allow you to go to the Illinois to replace Father Kerebin who will probably succeed you. I had pretty well foreseen this event and you must have noticed it in my letters. O that it had pleased God to have you keep the letter of your treaty, your promises, your own letter! That unfortunate office of Vicar-General of which you have made a show in New Orleans costs you dearly! Your superiors, who agree with the Company as to your record, will undoubtedly notify you as to what you must now do.

I have taken every measure so far as it depended on me to preserve your honor. The Company will write nothing of this affair to M. Perier or M. de la Chaise, and I shall write to them as well as to Father Raphael and Mother Tranchepain that I believe you are discouraged at the difficulties you encountered and that, since your mission is at present well established, I do not doubt your intention of going elsewhere for work. You are, therefore, absolutely free, Reverend Father, to speak in this same strain, so that it might appear you are leaving of your own accord.

I am convinced that the chagrin which I feel in writing this letter surpasses by far that which you will experience in reading it. I close assuring you that I am more perfectly than anyone in the world,

Your most humble and obedient servant,

Abbé Raguet.[11]

Again, we cannot fail to notice how Rochemonteix uses only half of the letter, omitting that part which describes how Father de Beaubois' recall may be palliated. "This letter of Raguet, as everybody sees," says the Jesuit author, "refers only to the office of Vicar-General; it is silent on all other chief points of accusation."[12] But this does not prove that there were no other reasons for Father de Beaubois' dismissal. Abbé Raguet, as can be seen from comparison with his other letters, wished to spare the condemned priest, and expressed himself as mildly as possible. It is unwarranted, therefore, to conclude with Rochemonteix that there were no other rea-

[11] Paris Arch. Col., F5A3, f. 180 bis.

[12] *Op. cit.*, p. 304.

sons for exiling Father de Beaubois from Louisiana. All will admit that the main reason for the dismissal was the usurpation of the Vicar-Generalship, and as it was not proper "to treat the affair in question before the whole world," [13] the Abbé referred to the other charges only in writing to the Jesuit Superiors. For the Society of Jesus Abbé Raguet maintained the highest regard, even if one of their number had fallen in his estimation. Fearlessly he exposed the fallacy of condemning the whole Society because of the mistakes of Father de Beaubois. Writing to M. de la Chaise he says:

> Permit me to draw your attention to the fact that in your letter you speak of Jesuits, although apparently you wish to speak of Father de Beaubois, a subject on which more than once you have spoken your sentiments. You could not be so attached to the Company, as you have every reason to be, if you fostered these sentiments to such an extent as to apply them to the other missionaries of his Society. You say, the Jesuits will always encroach on the rights of the Capuchins. The expression is too general and too risky. Please remember, that the Company knew full well what it did by choosing them, and that it will also know full well how to keep all her missionaries and employees within their limits whenever they dare step out of them.
>
> Do not make, therefore, the Jesuits objects of aversion or criticism, but on the contrary, give them the consolation which religion, equity, service of the Company and State, and the importance of their ministration among the savage tribes may demand. Never fear that they will encroach or deviate from the execution of their treaty. As regards Father de Beaubois, *I am almost sure he considers the mission established and does not think of remaining longer in the colony, far from having pleasure in encroaching on anyone there.* Our two classes of missionaries have their separate districts; they must perform their functions there without encroaching on each other, and you must maintain them paternally in the use of their rights.[14]

Abbé Raguet was certainly right in his expectations of the Jesuits as a body; they did not violate their treaty, but worked faithfully and merited the admiration and praise of all good people. Nor should we pass over silently the equanimity and fairness of the Director of the Company in dealing with these same Jesuits. A

[13] Paris Arch. Col., F5A3, f. 179. [14] *Ibid.*, C13A11, f. 230.

man of less sagacity and charity would have visited the faults of Father de Beaubois upon their whole number. But while condemning Father de Beaubois, Abbé Raguet continues to hold in highest esteem the great Society to which the Jesuit belonged. His letter of April 25, 1728, to the Bishop of Quebec is also replete with golden opinions of the Jesuits, despite the unhappy lot of Father de Beaubois. He says in part:

> God has not given to another Order [Jesuit] equal grace to lead pagans to the faith. I was only afraid of the spirit of usurpation and I dreaded it, not, indeed, without reasons. Events have justified this fear. Whilst Father de Beaubois with his superiors signed here the treaty which restricted the Jesuit activity to the Indian Missions and which also forbade him to exercise any act of jurisdiction in New Orleans and at the French posts independently of your Vicar-General, the Superior of the Capuchins, he sought from your Lordship the extension of his Vicar-Generalship even to New Orleans. Your Lordship's answer was favorable to him, but with this most prudent addition that more attention should be paid to what was expedient than to what he was authorized to do with your condescension. You supposed also in the same letter that there would be greater harmony between Father Raphael and himself.[15]

The Abbé then continues to deplore the lack of sacred harmony and the prevalence of scandalous discord caused by Father de Beaubois' transforming the episcopal permission, simple as it was, into an absolute command. Altogether unexpected, Father de Beaubois had made himself Vicar-General and Superior of the Ursuline Nuns in New Orleans, in spite of his own signature and that of his superiors; in spite of his promises to Bishop de Mornay, to the Company, to Abbé Raguet, even to Father Raphael by express letter. The Father was insane with ambition and his miserable fall was an arrow in the heart of the man who had urged and negotiated the treaty with the Jesuits. Yet he would not lose confidence in the Sons of Ignatius nor in the Daughters of Ursula who shared in this sad humiliation. All would yet be well and the Church in Louisiana would prosper, if His Lordship would but deign to overshadow the Fathers and Nuns with his fatherly blessing and support. Hence his heartfelt appeal at the close of his letter.

[15] Paris Arch. Col., C13A8, f. 424.

I join, Your Lordship, the Society of Jesus and the Company of the Indies in begging you to be so kind as to support with your authority their plans which are all good and pacific. Be so good as to define clearly your orders. Peace will be re-established in the colony, if the Superior of the Capuchins alone exercise your powers in New Orleans and at the other French posts, and if the Superior of the Jesuits alone receives from you the same jurisdiction for the Indian Missions where the Company has or will establish them in future. Thus, the two Vicars-General, far from arousing dangerous jealousy, will work with most laudable emulation.

We beg at the same time Your Lordship to extend your attention to the Ursulines. They had been somewhat hasty in deviating from the order of not adhering to their natural pastor. Gratitude and a spiritual bond formed before, caused them to commit this fault. I believe they are now doing their duty.

Reiterating to you the assurance of veneration on the part of the Company, I have the honor to be with profound respect,

Your Lordship's

Most humble and obedient servant,

Abbé Raguet.[16]

Although Abbé Raguet wrote to Father de Beaubois of his recall on April 3, 1728, the latter received the official intelligence only about the middle of August. The blow was not altogether unexpected. The several letters which he had written to the Abbé between May and August show him on the defensive. His letter of May 6, especially, betrays the threatening cloud. He laments very justly the hardships of the Ursulines and reveals how they contemplate leaving Louisiana for San Domingo, where a rich establishment had been offered them. As if conscious of the brewing storm, he assures the Director of the Company that perhaps the Jesuits may leave Louisiana and if so the Ursulines will go with them. Referring to the charges which he knows are circulated against him in Paris, he becomes vindictive and says:

You see well, Sir, that I do not like to go into details and that I do not seek to place material in your hands which might make the Company change its opinion about me. It would be

[16] Paris Arch. Col., C13A8, ff. 424-425.

a shame for me to go to the trouble to justify myself. The charges are too exaggerated, and it is best to let them fall to pieces of themselves. These revolts, these seditions, these intrigues, *etc.,* are phantoms which will disappear with time. I take care not even to write of them to the Company. I would receive the affront of not receiving an answer, or I might receive an answer such as everybody receives here, in a style not befitting me. The more I re-read those which you have written me, the more I fear to receive similar letters henceforth.

The Reverend Father d'Avaugour tells me that you have read them to him and that they are very strong, but they are so because you have friendship for me. I have much respect for Father d'Avaugour and deference for his sentiments. But with his permission I shall think otherwise at present. I am, indeed, very much convinced that you have written to me in this manner simply because you have ceased to have friendship for me. You adhere too much to the affirmative and seem too convinced of the truth with which you reproach me so bitterly. These are no faults of which you are still in doubt, they are no faults which you would be inclined to excuse, but they are faults which you suppose as real, which have horribly scandalized you and which you ask and conjure me to get rid of.

Might I flatter myself, Sir, that you will again bestow your friendship on him whom you must consequently regard as a great fool (beste grossiere) unable to uphold an enterprise, but in an effort to do so, takes steps opposed to common sense and reason? [17]

On August 12, Father de Beaubois wrote again to the Abbé to acquaint him with another project to secure trade for the colony. He had the approval of Governor Perier to go to Vera Cruz and Mexico [City] on the pretext of visiting the Spanish Jesuits, in reality, however, to see what chances there would be for establishing commerce between the two countries. Recommending to the good graces of the Company M. de Camvet, a naval officer, and Messrs. Navarre and Cusser, officers at Mobile, all aspirants for higher things, he remarks significantly: "I believe I am no longer in your good graces so as to flatter myself that you will be willing to regard my recommendations." [18] He says further he will write nothing

[17] *Ibid.,* C13A11, f. 256.

[18] Paris Arch. Col., C13A11, f. 260.

about the colony, not because he lacks material for a long letter, but because he will avoid the appearance of meddling. At the time of this writing he had not yet received the Company's notice of recall, but the closing remarks of his present letter evidently indicate that someone, either the Jesuit Provincial or Procurator, had prepared him for the worst.

> I await the outcome with tranquillity, for the storm which has gathered against me in the Company of the Indies for more than twenty months may break loose and fall upon me. But I am sure it will not crush me, for the worst anywhere else will be better for me than the best I have here. All that grieves me, Sir, is that you are so cold to me, and that in spite of your otherwise good sense, you let yourself be deceived. What all happens here of which you are ignorant! [19]

The worst, to which Father de Beaubois referred in his last letters, came at length between August 12 and 18, on which latter date he acknowledged the Company's decision. His comments are profuse and indicate neither repentance nor admission of guilt. He is determined to have it known that the action of the Company causes him no chagrin and that all its deliberations and pronouncements will be insufficient to make him share their view that his conduct was criminal and deserving of such shabby treatment. Everything considered, he argued that all he had done was to deposit the Bishop's letter in the record office and let Father Raphael know that it was not impossible or derogatory to good order for two Vicars-General to act at the same time and place. He also admitted that he had asked Father Raphael's consent but had been refused. He then asks boldly:

> What is in this which makes me guilty of bad faith or breach of my word? Have I really performed an act of jurisdiction? Nobody was more quiet than myself. I never wished to exercise it [jurisdiction]. I really have not exercised it, much less have I pretended to have power and jurisdiction over the Capuchin Fathers. Yes, I have deposited the letter at the record office to give publicity to my right, since, in truth, I did not wish to use it. *I have strongly demanded a consent which I knew would be refused, in order*

[19] *Ibid.*, f. 260.

> *to place him* [Father Raphael] *in a wrong light and justify myself with the Bishop.* I do not see that I have violated the treaty by this. The Memoir of Father Raphael against me is based on wrong principles. Facts are adduced whose falseness is known to M. Perier, who will testify to that effect when called upon. If the Memoir had been read without any prepossessions, or if they had wished to find out the truth, they would not have been so charmed with the good sense, the merit, the prudence of this Father who will have a terrible account to render to God for his lies, his deceptions, and who within the last year has caused me so many ill usages disgraceful to his age and his state of life.[20]

Nobody said it was wrong to ask Father Raphael's consent, but all fairminded persons did contend that it was wrong to act without having received that consent. But what must we think of Father de Beaubois' avowed intention in asking that consent? To say the least, he lacked purity of motive. Regarding the Ursulines, he insists that from the start he believed he and not Father Raphael was their director, and that when he spoke to Father Raphael about the nuns, the latter merely remarked that he did not wish to meddle. True, as we know from his letter to Bishop Saint Vallier, the head of the Company had conceded to Father de Beaubois, through whose influence the Ursulines had come to New Orleans, the privilege of advising them as a friend, but it was expressly stated that the ecclesiastical ministry may be exercised only in so far as Father Raphael permitted.[21] It may be that Father Raphael seemed to waive his rights over the Ursulines by not opposing Father de Beaubois' first attempts to direct them, but then it might be answered that the Capuchin was under the impression that Father de Beaubois was merely exercising his right of advising them as a friend. All in all, Father de Beaubois' letter is a repetition in endless variations of attempts at self-justification. In his mind, he is absolutely innocent. "What happens today," he says, "was already decided before I left Paris. My crime is to have been the friend of M. Bienville."[22] He replies not a word to the main charge, the violation of his treaty by writing to the Bishop of Quebec. Towards the end he says in a tone of defiance:

[20] Paris Arch. Col., C13A11, f. 261.
[21] *Ibid.*, f. 57. [22] *Ibid.*, f. 262.

> The Company may be satisfied, Sir. I shall leave happy to have nothing more to do with it. Even in quitting the place, I will show that I serve the Company willingly, and despite all the reasons I have for discontent, I will take this voyage which we have planned. I shall have plenty of time to go to Mexico and return before Father Petit arrives here. I have not yet seen the Capuchin Fathers. Their triumph is complete and they will make the most of it. I expect they will take steps to have the nuns placed under themselves. I am not responsible for the consequences of this affair, and I wash my hands of it." [23]

On arriving in France Father de Beaubois drew up a Memoir in self-defense. In this he has the effrontery to assert that Abbé Raguet can produce no other charge against him than that he wrote a little strong letter to Father Raphael, asking his consent for the Vicar-Generalship. The Capuchin Father had refused and appealed to the Bishop of Quebec and his Coadjutor. Here, he alleges, that everything halted, for he performed no ecclesiastical functions in New Orleans other than those performed with Father Raphael's consent, or in his own house in quality of superior which was exempt from episcopal jurisdiction. It was therefore altogether unjust for the Company to make so much ado about nothing and expel him from the colony. The Capuchins, the Jesuit Superiors and Abbé Raguet are then summoned for censure. The latter, especially, who had pleaded so earnestly to retain Father de Beaubois in the Mission so that he be spared a public humiliation, is attacked with bitter invective. In the mind of Father de Beaubois, the Abbé was guided by passion and was heartless in his methods. He took the Jesuit Superiors by surprise and thus won their acquiescence in his demands. He gave orders to strike out Father de Beaubois' salary and forbade anyone to acknowledge him as superior of the Mission. Thus, like a wounded sheep, he was driven from the colony, having had time only to make many expenses which are now held against the Mission both in France and in Louisiana. Will Father de Beaubois be permitted to return to the Mission? "No," he answers, "it is not proper for the Company of the Indies," says Abbé Raguet, "and things have gone

[23] Paris Arch. Col., C13A11, f. 262.

so far that Father de Beaubois cannot run the risk of returning to a colony where there would be no end of new troubles for him." [24]

He then proposes several questions for consideration as follows:

> 1) Whether it is proper for the Jesuits and the Company of the Indies to sell the effects of the Jesuits at New Orleans to pay the debts of this Mission.
>
> 2) Whether it is proper that the missionaries who sacrifice themselves for the sake of Religion and State in such hard Missions, should depend upon the whims and caprice of Abbé Raguet, and run the risk of being treated like their superior was treated.
>
> 3) Whether it is proper that such an important Mission for the colony should depend on a Director who instead of upholding it, is not afraid of overturning and destroying it to gain his point of ruining its head with whom he thinks he has reason to be discontented, and who for that reason gives credence to calumny, makes use of frivolous pretexts or exaggerates a slight fault which was all the more without consequences since we learnt of the death of Monsigneur Saint Vallier. The invectives and outrages of which his two Memoirs are full, reveal his character and show what missionaries have to fear who have the misfortune to displease him.[25]

One cannot read Father de Beaubois' apology without noticing how deftly he shifts the scene. The main charge on which he was dismissed from Louisiana was the breach of his treaty by writing to Bishop Saint Vallier for faculties of Vicar-General in New Orleans. This he puts down as a slight fault (faute legere) of no consequences and of which the Company made too much ado. The great and only fault he ever committed in Louisiana, he says, was to write a strong letter to Father Raphael. Nowhere does he state that he was courteously offered faculties for parochial work in New Orleans. This fact held no interest for him, because his mind and heart were set on the Vicar-Generalship. In his efforts to defend his unfortunate confrere, Rochemonteix goes so far as to insinuate that the violation of the treaty might have been only a pretense:

> We must certainly admit that if the violation of the treaty, be it *pretended or real,* was the cause of Father de Beaubois'

[24] *Ibid.*, f. 186.

[25] *Ibid.*, f. 186.

> recall, it was only a secondary cause and the only one that could possibly be alleged with honesty. The principal cause, that which could not be spoken of in this conjuncture and of which Abbé Raguet does not speak in his letter, was his friendship for M. Bienville.[26]

All that Abbé Raguet says in his letters to the Jesuit Superiors to the effect that Father de Beaubois' general conduct was simply intolerable, is thoroughly brushed aside by Rochemonteix apparently because it does not support his theory. Now we may truthfully say that if his friendship for Bienville played any part in his dismissal, it was because that friendship led him to be too notoriously opposed to the present regime and too imprudently active for the restoration of the former. Such dangerous friendship must be opposed by every self-respecting government in the interest of its own self-preservation.

In December, 1729, the Company drew up a long document embodying the whole case against Father de Beaubois. After discussing the evidence gleaned from the various sources, the reflections of both parties are given as follows:

> Father de Beaubois contends on his part to have observed the treaty of 1726, ordaining that he was not allowed to exercise ecclesiastical functions in New Orleans without the consent of the Capuchin Superior; that having received from the Bishop of Quebec powers to exercise functions of Vicar-General in New Orleans as well as in the missions of the savages, nothing else was left for him to do but to demand the consent of Father Raphael, Capuchin; that it was exactly this consent which he had demanded and which was refused by Father Raphael; that since this refusal, he exercised no functions in New Orleans.
>
> Father Raphael, on the contrary, contends that Father de Beaubois has performed functions which involve the jurisdiction of Vicar-General. He charges him in this connection (and Father de Beaubois admits it), that after this letter, Father de Beaubois has baptized and solemnized the marriages of Negroes and Negresses and that he has given the veil to an Ursuline Nun without having received the consent of Father Raphael, the Vicar-General.
>
> Father de Beaubois admits all these facts and contends that

[26] *Op. cit.*, p. 305.

> he was authorized to act so, because they are Negroes and Negresses, his slaves and domestics, and because he has married and baptized them in his chapel and every superior has that right in the interior of the house of which he is the only curate; that he has given the veil in his capacity of superior of the nuns; that he has taken charge of them, as he says, only with the approval and consent of Father Raphael and of the Bishop of Quebec, who approved and confirmed the choice they had made in selecting him as superior. He adds, that this was done with the consent of the Company of the Indies of which Abbé Raguet is informed.[27]

Thus, Father de Beaubois protested his absolute innocence till the last. At the end of this important Memoir the letters are given which the Company wrote to the Commandants of Louisiana informing them of Father de Beaubois' *intention to retire from the Mission.* In this way the Company desired to avoid a sensation and to give a favorable color to the Jesuit's return. Other letters of the Commandants are appended which express satisfaction with Father de Beaubois' successor and "note the difficulties in which he has left the Mission through the debts he contracted, and the excessive expenses he has made for a considerable enterprise which he has undertaken in too short a time and with insufficient funds."[28] Father de Beaubois returned to France on January 1, 1729, and was replaced by Father Mathurin le Petit, missionary to the Choctaws. The new superior lived on friendly terms with the Capuchins and in a letter of October 3, 1729, merited the following praise of Father Raphael: "He is universally esteemed . . . he is a good and saintly religious."[29] This friendship, so far as we know, continued throughout the few years of his appointment.

In 1729, as a climax to the religious conflict, occurred the terrible Natchez massacre. Although these Indians had lived for some years in friendship with the French whom they permitted to settle on their fertile lands at Natchez, their hospitality was repaid with ingratitude. The French debauched and sometimes ravished the Indian women, tyrannized the men and constantly

[27] Paris Arch. Col., F5A3, ff. 232-233.

[28] *Ibid.*, f. 235.

[29] Rochemonteix, *Op. cit.*, p. 309, note 1.

brought them new disgrace. The Indians at length determined to get rid of their oppressors, and on St. Andrew's eve, 1729, they surprised the fort and put the whole garrison to death. At the same time they made a general massacre of the inhabitants in which upwards of five hundred were killed and some women and children dragged off as slaves. Very few of either sex escaped. When the news of the awful massacre reached New Orleans and the other posts, the whole colony armed to avenge their slaughtered countrymen. Several skirmishes with the Natchez resulted, but the latter were by no means conquered. In 1730, Monsieur de Perier de Salvert, brother of the governor, arrived from France with the rank of Lieutenant-general in Louisiana, and with him came five hundred regular troops for the colony. This army which with the regular militia amounted to about fifteen hundred men went under the command of the two brothers to attack the nation of the Natchez. The Indians resisted at first but finding themselves overpowered both as to men and ammunition, surrendered and, with the exception of a few who escaped to the Chickasaws, were conducted to New Orleans. Here some of the unfortunate prisoners were burnt and the rest sent as slaves to the West Indies. Nothing now remains of this nation but its name by which the country continues to be called.[30]

As a result of the frightful slaughter of human beings right in its midst, the whole colony was filled with fear and discouragement. The Company of the Indies despaired of coping with the melancholy situation and decided almost unanimously to return its charter to the King. The directors and stockholders urged that they had spent twenty millions of livres to carry this charter into execution and that, if the government did not come to its present relief, it would break under the heavy burden. Two delegates, Messrs. Brusle and Bru, were appointed by the crown to proceed to Louisiana and settle all accounts of the Company with the government as well as with individuals. By November 15, 1731, the French Government had assumed complete control.[31] M. de la Chaise was

[30] Pittman, Phillip, *The Present State of European Settlements on the Mississippi*, pp. 79-80. See also: *Sketch of the Catholic Church in the City of Natchez, Mississippi* pp. 8-13, Natchez, 1886.

[31] Gayarre, *Op. cit.*, p. 452. Rochemonteix, *Op. cit.*, p. 317.

recalled to France, but M. Perier was retained as governor, and M. Salmon was named Intendant. About this time the Jesuit Superiors proposed to abandon the Louisiana Mission, owing to the hardships and poverty that became the lot of the missionaries after the Natchez massacre. On March 20, 1730, they addressed the following notice to the Comptroller General:

> *Sir,*
>
> The Superior of the Jesuits, acting on the Memoir of Father de Beaubois and the letters received from other missionaries in Louisiana, think it the most suitable plan to recall the missionaries. The bad state in which this Mission is at present, especially, after the blow which the Indians have struck a short time ago, makes it impossible for them to subsist there. Your Highness will think so, too, after perusing the Memoir which Father de Beaubois had the honor to present to you.
>
> Yet, however necessary this step seems to the Jesuits, they will, nevertheless, neither decide nor commence to take it without the approval and consent of Your Highness. Therefore, they beg Your Highness most humbly that, in case you think the Jesuits necessary to Church and State in Louisiana, you be so kind as to furnish them with means to subsist there, so that they may be able to work there for the spreading of the Christian religion and for the good of the colony.[32]

What relief, if any beyond promises, was given to the Jesuits is not known. They did not abandon the colony, but to the surprise of all in 1732 the King sent back Father de Beaubois as superior of their Mission. This time, however, he came not as Vicar-General, not even for the Jesuit Indian Missions which were placed under the jurisdiction of the *one Vicar-General, Father Raphael.* Bishop de Mornay, who had succeeded to the See of Quebec on September 15, 1728, was responsible for centralizing the authority in the Capuchin. After a year, Father de Beaubois was followed by his friend M. Bienville, who on the resignation of Governor Perier was appointed to that office by the King. Mindful of the troubled past, Father Raphael had visions of a possible repetition and, quite naturally, looked with displeasure on the return of Father de Beaubois. However, since the latter came with not even the shadow of hope for the Vicar-Generalship, the Capuchin was willing to abide

[32] Paris Arch. Col., C13A12, f. 428.

by the royal appointment. All went well for a time, Father de Beaubois submitting to the wishes of his Vicar-General, and Father Raphael endeavoring to preserve peace and unity. Thus, in November, 1733, he permitted Father de Beaubois to give the last rites of the Church to Mother Mary Tranchepain of St. Augustine, Foundress of the Ursulines in Louisiana, although, according to ecclesiastical law, this was reserved to the Capuchins.

But knowing the character of Father de Beaubois, one need not be a prophet to forecast the future. Just what the subject of the new friction was is not known, but soon the Church was again in a deplorable state of discord. The difficulty was reported to the Bishop of Quebec, who promptly advised Father Raphael to interdict the Jesuits in New Orleans and its neighborhood. Before carrying out the order, the Capuchin consulted Bienville and Salmon, but they, not wishing to enter into the matter because it was ecclesiastical, answered that the curate should know better than they what to do. Making some defense for the Society of his friend, Bienville added that the Jesuits had gained general esteem by their good conduct and were doing efficient work for religion. Moreover, if so many priests should be excluded from parochial work, the Capuchins would find it difficult to discharge the many duties in the church, the hospital and the convent. Besides, the nuns still adhered to the Jesuits who had brought them to Louisiana and did not wish to submit to the episcopal order and receive a Capuchin director.[33]

The interdict was finally issued; and only lifted shortly before Father Raphael's death, which occurred soon after on February 15, 1735. In withdrawing the sentence, the Vicar-General did so only on condition that the Jesuit Superiors would recall Father de Beaubois to France. Apparently, no special mandate was needed, for Father de Beaubois, seeing his cause was lost and not wishing to draw down on his brethren the continued displeasure of the succeeding Vicar-General, preferred to return to France in 1735. Thus the second appointment of Father de Beaubois proved as injudicious as the first. Returned to France he was first made prefect of studies at Bourges and then procurator. In 1742 he became

[33] King, *Op. cit.*, p. 291.

director of the seminary at Nevers, where he remained till 1743, when he was promoted to the office of superior of the retreat house at Amiens. Here he remained till 1752, when he succeeded to the office of superior at the retreat house at Vannes. After the suppression of the Society of Jesus in France in 1762, we lose all trace of Father de Beaubois,[34] but we feel safe in saying that the positions with which he was entrusted seem to indicate that he drew profit from his sad experiences in Louisiana.

The Capuchin Superior, Father Raphael, acquitted himself as a noble and firm champion of justice and right. As spokesman for his Order, his words were truthful and logical, his actions dignified and fearless. His cause triumphed, not because he was a cringing politician, but rather because he was a real leader who lacked not the courage of his conviction. "A respectable man by his learning and morals," [35] a lover of truth and hater of sham, he ranks with the greatest of the pioneer missionaries of Louisiana. Of his last illness and death nothing is known. The Funeral Record of that period is no longer preserved in the Cathedral Archives at New Orleans, but the Memoir of 1751-1753 gives the following names of persons buried in the original plot over which the present cathedral, the outgrowth of the original parish, was built:

1721—M. Alcas, Director of the Lausse (?) concessions.
1723—M. Savoy, Royal Commissary.
1726—M. Paugier, Knight of St. Louis, Chief Engineer (the same who made the plan of the city).
1730—M. de la Chaise, Commissary Royal and Director of the Company.
1734—Rev. F. Raphael, Superior of the Capuchins.
1737—Rev. F. Phillippe, his successor.
1745—Madame Noyant, and 1751, her husband, Lieutenant of the King.
1750—Rev. F. Charles, Superior of the Capuchins.
1751—Rev. F. Matthias, parish priest.
1752—M. Chauvin, Trustee in active service.
1752—M. Michel, Commissary of the Navy and acting Intendant.[36]

[34] Rochemonteix, *Op. cit.*, p. 319. Note 1.
[35] King, Grace, *Op. cit.*, p. 291.
[36] *Records* (ACH), X, pp. 203-204.

Accordingly, the present imposing cathedral rises over the remains of these dignitaries of Church and State. However, a vague tradition has it that most of these bodies were disinterred at the time of building and removed to the cemetery, which at that time was on the ouskirts of the city. The writer visited the two oldest cemeteries, the St. Louis No. 1 and the St. Louis No. 2, in search of the last resting place of these eminent friars of the South, but failed in his quest. The sexton pointed out in the " Neglected Corner " of the St. Louis No. 1 a heap of crumbling slabs which at one time should have marked the tombs of the pioneer priests. Examination for any enlightening data proved absolutely useless, as the well-nigh two hundred years had effaced all trace of inscription. Sad, indeed, that the memory of one so identified with the builders of the great metropolis of the South has been allowed to fade.

Signature of Fr. Charles, Capuchin Superior, appended to note dated April 1, 1743. The original is in possession of the Louisiana Historical Society, New Orleans.

CHAPTER IX

The Solution of the Controversy, 1764

After the stormy period just closed, one should think the missionaries of both communities would endeavor to enjoy at any price the sweet blessings of peace. But Fathers Raphael and de Beaubois had hardly left the scene when the conflict arose again, this time with the Capuchins as the occasion and the Bishop of Quebec as the cause. On September 12, 1733, Bishop de Mornay resigned the See of Quebec and Mgr. Dosquet became his successor. Upon the death of Father Raphael, Mgr. Dosquet appointed the new Capuchin Superior, Father Mathias of Sedan, Vicar-General of both the Capuchin and Jesuit Missions. At the same time the new Bishop returned to the policy of Bishop Saint Vallier of maintaining an agent at Paris to whom as first Vicar-General he confided the care of his missions. The choice of Bishop Dosquet fell on the Abbé de l'Isle-Dieu, a priest distinguished for superior intelligence, integrity and energy. The first concern of the Abbé on assuming charge of Louisiana, was to acquaint himself thoroughly with the past and present conditions of the vast Mission he was to govern. In particular he kept himself informed of all facts pertaining to the old and new controversy between the Capuchins and the Jesuits and, in general, like the Abbé Raguet before him, transacted all business between the Bishop of Quebec and the missions.[1]

Father Mathias, the new Capuchin Vicar-General, who plays an important part in reviving the old feud between the Jesuits and his brethren, entered upon his duties with intense zeal. He was of that type of authority that never closes an eye to what it considers abusive. Thus, when hearing that the Sieur Loquet de La Pommeraye, Treasurer General of New Orleans, had on his own authority ordered the burial of a baptized Negro slave without ceremonies and in unconsecrated ground, he prosecuted the officer and obtained a decision which ordered that the body be exhumed

[1] Rochemonteix, *Op. cit.*, p. 320.

and re-interred with proper rites in consecrated ground. In punishment for this offense the Sieur Loquet was fined thirty livres to be applied to fencing the cemetery. The petition was addressed to Salmon, First Judge of the Superior Council, and was signed by Father Mathias in his official character of Vicar-General. This instance goes far in showing the power and courage of the Vicar-General who did not hesitate to attack a high official in favor of the humblest and most neglected member of the colony.[2]

Father Mathias also showed his authority to advantage, when at his call the inhabitants of the colony, headed by Governor Bienville and Judge Salmon, assembled at the Hotel Intendancy to deliberate on ways and means of repairing the church and rectory of New Orleans which were fast falling into ruin. At the meeting it was decided to levy a poll tax of fifty sols on each slave, those having no slaves were to be taxed according to their means. M. Bienville led the way in generosity by donating the sum of 9,048 livres and 15 sols ($1,820) which was paid to M. Du Breuil, Contractor of the Public Works for the King, for making over all the masonry and repairing the arches. The people took very kindly to the appeal of Father Mathias, even proposing an independent property tax over and above the per capita tax of fifty sols for Negroes. The document was signed on November 2, 1738, by some twenty names including in the first place that of Bienville, Salmon, Louboey and Father Mathias as Vicar-General.[3]

But with all this activity and good intention, the choice of Father Mathias as Vicar-General was not so fortunate. He was very authoritative in manner, harsh in governing and jealous of his rights. Without a doubt he was a good religious and deeply sincere, and his faults were rather the result of a naturally severe character and an erroneous notion of diocesan government. For four years the relations between himself and his subjects were greatly strained, so much so that both Jesuits and Capuchins launched bitter complaints with Abbé de l'Isle-Dieu. In 1738, Bishop Dosquet went to Rome and left complete authority in the hands of the Abbé. Face to face with another Capuchin-Jesuit

[2] *Quarterly* (LH), III, pp. 291-294.
[3] Arch. (LHS), 10587.

conflict, he undertook to examine thoroughly both the complaints which had reached him during the last four years, and the Memoir of Count Maurepas, who urged conciliation either by persuasion, or by authority, if the former were futile. A conscientious priest, intent on promoting the glory of God and the welfare of religion in Louisiana, Abbé de l'Isle-Dieu hoped to effect quietly by compromise an immediate pacification. Using the authority with which the Bishop had invested him, he appointed the Capuchin, Father Mathias, Vicar-General for the Capuchin Mission, and the Jesuit, Father le Petit, Vicar-General for the Jesuit Mission. Father le Petit died on October 13, 1739, and was replaced by Father d'Outreleau. Thus, as the Abbé had planned, this compromise put a sudden stop to the rivalry between the Capuchins and the Jesuits.[4]

On the other hand, the opposition between the Capuchins and their Superior, Father Mathias waxed stronger, a fair indication that the source of the recent trouble with the Jesuits was traceable to the Capuchin Vicar-General who lacked the qualities of a good and prudent superior. At this juncture Abbé de l'Isle-Dieu requested the Capuchin Provincial of Champagne, Father Bartholomew de Mezieres, to appoint two unbiassed religious from one of the three houses in Paris, to examine the host of complaints which the Capuchin missionaries had sent him against their Superior. The Capuchin Provincial was a good and virtuous religious, to whom these complaints came as a humiliating embarrassment, but anxious to restore peace in the Mission, he gladly followed the advice of the Vicar in Paris. As a result of the investigation, Father Mathias was deposed and Father Philip appointed as his successor. In a letter of June 8, 1739, Abbé de l'Isle-Dieu transmitted to the new Capuchin Superior the letters appointing him Vicar-General.[5]

On June 25, 1739, Bishop Dosquet resigned the See of Quebec, and Mgr. de Lauberiviere, his successor, died on August 20, of the following year. Mgr. de Pontbriand was then chosen Bishop and consecrated in Paris on April 7, 1741. Like his predecessor, he reposed perfect confidence in Abbé de l'Isle-Dieu and retained

[4] *Memoire Historique*, quoted by Rochemonteix, *Op. cit.*, p. 324.
[5] Rochemonteix, *Op. cit.*, p. 326.

his services as Vicar-General for the Church in Louisiana. Before leaving Paris, the new Bishop had a conference with his Vicar and asked to see all the documents having a bearing on the history of his diocese since 1730. Upon learning that the Abbé had appointed a Capuchin and a Jesuit Vicar-General, each supreme in his own field, the Bishop expressed complete satisfaction with the measure and in confirmation of the appointment issued letters of approval for the Capuchin, Father Philip, and the Jesuit, Father d'Outreleau. In addition to these two Vicars-General, His Lordship also made the Superior of the Priests of the Foreign Missions Vicar-General for his own mission.

A few days after his consecration, Bishop Pontbriand left Paris for La Rochelle whence he intended to embark for his diocese. Unfortunately, he had hardly arrived at the port when he was informed of new disturbances in the Capuchin Mission at New Orleans. Weary of complaints from that source, he decided on a drastic measure against those Fathers. Writing immediately to Abbé le l'Isle-Dieu, he recalled his decision made at Paris, and bade him not to send the letters confirming the appointment of the Capuchin Vicar-General, because he had now determined to subject that Mission to the Vicar-General of the Jesuits. On May 28, 1741, Abbé de l'Isle-Dieu apprised the Capuchin Provincial at Champagne of the Bishop's decision. Humiliated again by the conduct of his religious in Louisiana, the Provincial received the news in the spirit of resignation and promised not only to urge his brethren in the Mission to submit to the new arrangement, but also to send a new superior who in the name of the Capuchins would recognize the jurisdiction of the Jesuit Vicar-General. The same year, Father Charles de Rambervillier, an elderly and saintly religious of recognized prudence and ability, arrived in Louisiana and pledged the obedience of his brethren to the Jesuit representative of the Bishop of Quebec.[6]

The appointment of a Jesuit Vicar-General over the Capuchin Mission was an innovation in the history of the Louisiana Church, and Father John Lavaud, Provincial of the Paris Jesuits, receiving notice of the Bishop's radical action, made every effort to escape

[6] Rochemonteix, *Op. cit.*, p. 328.

the commission.[7] It was urged that their Society forbade them to exercise any jurisdictional office. Bishop Pontbriand, however, solved the difficulty by obtaining a dispensation from Pope Benedict XIV.[8] Likewise the Jesuits in Louisiana opposed the measure so humiliating to the Capuchins, and they did not conceal their displeasure from the Abbé de l'Isle-Dieu. But they had to submit, for the Bishop's decision was irrevocable. At length, under the safe and sound guidance of the new Capuchin Superior, Father Charles, perfect submission of the Capuchins to the Jesuits was effected. Henceforth, peace and unity prevailed in the Louisiana Church. On February 26, 1746, the Abbé wrote to the Minister of the Marine:

> I received the letters of the Jesuits and the Capuchins of New Orleans; the first, of Father Vitry, Superior of the Jesuits, written on November 13, 1745, the other of Father Charles de Rambervillier, Capuchin Superior of that Mission, both residing in New Orleans. From the letters of these two Fathers, that of the Jesuit and that of the Capuchin, it appears that there prevails good harmony and perfect understanding.[9]

This and similar letters attest the good spirit created and maintained by Father Charles. But unfortunately, that peace and harmony were not destined for long duration. Already advanced in age, Father Charles died after a few years, in 1750, and there ended a government which, as the Abbé says, "was short but very edifying and pacific."[10]

Upon the death of Father Charles, Father Eustache and later Father Dagobert of Longory became Superior. Although Father

[7] "Les Jesuites firent en vain mille efforts pour se defendre de cette commission." Prop. Arch., *America Centrale*, I, 1673-1775. This gives the lie to the theory on which the article of Mr. Bispham in the Louisiana Historical Quarterly, I, pp. 154-189, is built up. In a poorly documented paper the latter views the controversy as the result of years of jealous rivalry between the two Orders, and the Vicar-Generalship won by the Jesuits, as their premeditated goal.

[8] Vatican Arch., 8064, f. 220.

[9] Arch. Colon, Corresp. Gener., vol. 86; Rochemonteix, *Op. cit.*, pp. 329-330, note 3.

[10] Rochemonteix, *Op. cit.*, p. 329.

Dagobert recognized on sundry occasions the jurisdiction of the Jesuit Vicar-General, he was known to have questioned the latter's authority. Under his successor, Father George of Fauquemont, Capuchin opposition to the Jesuit Vicar-General broke out in full force. In 1750, Father Vitry, Jesuit Vicar-General, had died and Bishop Pontbriand named his fellow Jesuit, Father Michael Baudouin as successor. About three years later, in 1753, Father George became Superior of the Capuchins. A former Provincial of Champagne, at least in the beginning, he endeavored to continue the sage and firm administration of Father Charles. In a letter of May 7, 1753, addressed to the Abbé de l'Isle-Dieu, he recognized the jurisdiction of Father Baudouin and even requested Abbé de l'Isle-Dieu to settle by an authentic declaration all doubts regarding the Jesuit jurisdiction that seemed to linger in some parts of the colony. Bishop Pontbriand, hearing of the request of Father George, confirmed the powers of Father Baudouin and instructed Abbé de l'Isle-Dieu to give the Jesuit Vicar-General consistent support.[11]

But this action on the part of the Bishop did not quiet the doubts of Father George and his followers. Since 1741, when the Vicar-Generalship was withdrawn from the Capuchins, there remained an element of discontent, whose wounded feelings time had rather permitted to fester than to heal. An unsigned document of this period found in the Paris Archives says as much:

> There had been great altercations between these two religious Orders all the time. Formerly a superior of the Capuchins, who was Vicar-General of the Bishop of Quebec, made use of his powers to excommunicate the Jesuits. Since that time, the latter have done all in their power to deprive the Capuchins of the title of Vicar-General. They succeeded at last, obtained power over them and in turn used that power to excommunicate the Capuchins. This is the source of the quarrels which have been going on for a long time and which have not yet ceased. The means which had been believed to effect this [peace], was not to deviate from the division which had originally been made between them, the Capuchins being assigned the French parishes and missions, and the Jesuits the Indian missions.

[11] Rochemonteix, *Op. cit.*, 331.

> Therefore, it was to be expected that the Bishop of Quebec might nominate two Vicars-General, one a Capuchin and the other a Jesuit, so that each might exercise his functions within the limits of the charge entrusted to his Order; but the Bishop seeing fit to act otherwise, there is little hope to restore the harmony which should reign between the religious for the good of religion and the peace of the colony.[12]

The document plainly indicates that its author is in sympathy with the Capuchins, at least some of whom never forgot the action of Bishop Pontbriand in depriving them of the Vicar-General-ship. No matter what his ideas in the beginning, the present Superior, Father George, soon questioned the authority of Father Baudouin, demanding to see his letters of appointment. On March 31, 1756, d'Auberville, Commissary at New Orleans, wrote of the matter as follows:

> Father George, Superior of the Capuchins of this Province, passes over to France on the *Messager,* to settle there the differences he has with Father Baudouin, Superior of the Jesuits, regarding the functions of Vicar-General, which the latter exercises. He has presented to me a petition, a copy of which I enclose, in which he demands from Father Baudouin a copy of the documents and the Indult, in virtue of which he exercises his functions. Trying to keep peace and harmony between these two Orders, I asked Father Baudouin to visit me yesterday, and he came. I told him of this petition. I let him understand that I thought he could not elude giving the copies which were demanded of him. If, however, he believed he had reasons to refuse them, all he had to do was to write his refusal below the petition and the affair would rest with that. After he had thought over the matter, he promised to give not only one copy but two, in order that Father George should sign one to make it an official copy. But from yesterday till today he changed his mind, as appears from the letter he wrote me.[13]

Father Baudouin was perfectly right in refusing a copy of his credentials to Father George, for the latter could easily have procured a copy from Abbé de l'Isle-Dieu to whom it was proper to appeal. Then, too, why did not these Capuchins demand Father Baudouin's

[12] Paris Arch. Col., C13C1, ff. 17-18.
[13] *Ibid.*, C13A39, f. 197.

letters at the time of his appointment? Why did they wait for six years to question an authority which apparently was unanimously recognized? On March 9, 1752, invited by the Capuchin, Father Dagobert, Fathter Baudouin had blessed the chapel of the Charity Hospital, which was a function of the Vicar-General. In the same capacity he had on February 26, of the same year, proclaimed officially the Jubilee in the Capuchin parish of New Orleans. Neither in these nor in any other of his official acts had the Jesuit encountered opposition from seculars or regulars. Moreover, Father George himself on a former occasion had both seen and acknowledged the authenticity of the Jesuit's papers, a fact which renders his present conduct inconsistent. Thus Father Baudouin wrote to d'Auberville on March 31, 1756:

> There is only the Reverend Father George who pretends to doubt that I am Vicar-General; but he acts inconsistently since in the Assembly of Mediation held at the Government House on January 3, 1754, in your presence, Sir, and in that of the Governor, I produced then and there the original of my title of Vicar-General and in corroboration, the letters of the Bishop of Quebec and of the Abbé de l'Isle-Dieu, by which I am authorized to the office which I discharge, and after everything had been maturely examined, it was found to be in good order and proper form, and Father George, unable to object to anything, was forced to admit that I was Vicar-General and that he would regard me as such, as long as he would not receive word from His Lordship, the Bishop of Quebec. Accordingly, only this answer can quiet him and not the copy of my letter of appointment as Vicar-General. However, if this Reverend Father is so curious to see it, he will find it with Abbé de l'Isle-Dieu, who will let him see it, and will remove all difficulties which he might have about the jurisdiction which I exercise.[14]

But while the Capuchins seemed to aim their arrows of opposition at Father Baudouin, their real target was the Bishop of Quebec, who in appointing the Jesuit Vicar-General had violated the conditions on which both Capuchins and Jesuits had been admitted into the Louisiana Mission. In the Letters Patent of June 27, 1725, it was expressly stated that under the authority of the Bishop of Quebec the Capuchins have charge of all missions so that no other

[14] Paris Arch. Col., C13A39, f. 200.

religious or secular priest might be sent or established there without their consent.[15] This privilege was given not only on the authority of the Company, but on July 15, 1725, was also confirmed by the Diploma of the King. Moreover, the much discussed treaty of February 20, 1726 with the Jesuits, had safeguarded the Capuchin position by stipulating that the *Jesuit Procurator* at New Orleans should not be allowed to perform any ecclesiastical function without the consent of the Capuchins. Mindful of this absolute concession, Father George and his followers reprobated the submission of their predecessors as illegal and therefore invalid, because the French Government that made the treaty had no part in rescinding it.

The question was now laid before the Superior Council of New Orleans, which, however, gave a decision in favor of the Jesuits. This aroused strenuous opposition on the part of the Capuchins, the foremost objector of whom was Father Hilary of Geneveaux, who posted a public writing against the Council and as a punishment was obliged to return to France.[16] Determined to press their claims, the Capuchins took up the case again and this time, the Superior Council more completely informed, reiterated the primitive stipulation of the King that:

> The Mission of the Capuchins be independent and separate from that of the Jesuits and that the latter have no right to put their hands into the harvest of the former without their assent; that, moreover, it did not wish to enter into the Acts the commission of Vicar-Generalship given perpetually to the Jesuits and branded it *as abusive, surreptitious and contrary to the laws of the Kingdom and the Royal Authority, against which the Bishop, according to the duties of his oath of fealty, can introduce nothing new.*[17]

[15] *Ibid.*, A23, ff. 60-61.

[16] After the suppression of the Jesuits, Father Hilary returned to Louisiana, having been made Prothonotary Apostolic by the Pope in 1765. He is the first Monsignor of the western and probably of the eastern part of our country.

[17] *abusiva, surrettizia, e derogante alle leggi del Regno, e della Regia autorità in pregiudizio della quale non può il Vescovo secondo gl'obblighi del suo giuramento di fidelta innovar cosa alcuna.* Vatican Archives, 8964, f. 224.

This, then, was the ground on which the Capuchins claimed exemption from the jurisdiction of the Jesuit Vicar-General. No matter how Father Charles and the friars of 1741 had viewed the action of the Bishop of Quebec, those of 1756, considered the appointment of the Jesuit Vicar-General by Bishop Pontbriand as a violation of two solemn treaties. True, according to Canon Law a bishop in his own diocese may name Vicar-General whomsoever he pleases, but we must bear in mind that in this period Gallicanism exercised ecclesiastical rights in France. The royal *Placet* was required to legalize the acts of the Pope and the Bishop, and since the Bishop of Quebec had not obtained the *Placet* for depriving the Capuchins of the Vicar-Generalship, his act was null and void from the Gallican standpoint. The Church by no means favored this cringing to secular powers, but she was forced to tolerate it as a lesser evil, and the Capuchins shielded themselves with her toleration. Nor did Bishop Pontbriand fail to recognize in the course of time the legality of the Capuchin claim. Apart from what he thought of their views in 1741, when he forced the Jesuits to violate their treaty, in 1757, he clearly admits that the Letters Patent of the Capuchins are still of binding force. His letter of November 5, 1757, to the French Government leaves no doubt on the subject:

> For about seventeen years the Bishop of Quebec has not seen fit to nominate a Capuchin Father Vicar-General in Louisiana. For reasons known to himself he has preferred a Jesuit Father and has no reason for regret. For several years he sees with pain that the Capuchin Fathers do not want to recognize his Vicar-General, that they have published a pamphlet which bases its full force on the Letters Patent given for their establishment by the Gentlemen of the Company on June 27, 1725, confirmed by His Majesty on July 15, 1725, and on the Letters Patent of August 17, 1726, granted for the establishment of the Jesuit Fathers in Louisiana.
>
> In the first, it is said that the Capuchin Fathers have charge under the authority of the Bishop of Quebec of all missions, *so that no other religious or secular priest could be established there without their consent.*
>
> The Bishop supplicates M. de Moras *to have the Letters Patent interpreted to the effect that it will be admitted that*

the intention of His Majesty is not to exclude the Vicars-General and the Officials whom the Bishop might see fit to send there.

In the second Letters Patent of the King for the establishment of the Jesuit Fathers in 1726, it is said in Article IV, *that the Superior of the Jesuits might reside in New Orleans on condition that he shall not exercise any ecclesiastical function without the consent of the Superior of the Capuchins.*

The Bishop asks the favor of M. de Moras that he declare that the condition expressed, *shall not have reference to the Vicars-General and to the Officials of the Bishop of Quebec.* With this twofold interpretation, the justice of which could easily be proven, the Capuchin Fathers will soon return to obedience, scandals will cease, peace will be restored, the Bishop of Quebec will not be forced to use the due course of law to uphold the episcopal authority, which His Majesty surely never intended to destroy by his Letters Patent.[18]

This episcopal letter with its submissive requests is the best vindication for the Capuchins. Bishop Pontbriand does not dare say that the Capuchin contention was baseless, for he would have been held a rebel against the government which throughout the conflict upheld the Capuchins. He fully acknowledges that the Capuchins have taken the Gallican viewpoint which in those days was legal. According to Canon Law, the Bishop could brand the Capuchins as disobedient and stubborn subjects, but not according to the Gallican Law which had infected the whole of France and her colonies. In truth, the Bishop's letter was a mild protest against the Royal Supremacy in ecclesiastical affairs. But as a measure for effecting reconciliation, the latter was useless, for the French Government passed over the appeal in silence. In the meantime the situation became very acute, especially, since the Capuchins began to ignore the Jesuit Vicar-General and press to the limit all the exemptions and privileges they had from the Propaganda through their Provincial, who at the same time was Prefect of Louisiana. For more than twenty years prior to 1760, the Provincials of Champagne as Prefects of the Louisiana Mission could impart such abundant faculties to their religious, that in

[18] Paris Arch. Col., C13A39, ff. 316-317.

reality the Capuchin missionaries had but seldom to appeal to the Vicar-General, be he Capuchin or Jesuit.[19]

The Abbé de l'Isle-Dieu did not acknowledge this privilege possessed by the Capuchins, because he was a Gallican, favoring not so much the supremacy of the State in ecclesiastical matters as that of the local bishop against Rome. In his exposè of the Capuchin pretensions which he sent to M. de Machault, Keeper of the Seals, in 1757, he attacks them on various grounds, saying that the Capuchins not only refuse to acknowledge the Jesuit Vicar-General, but that they also claim to have the *Jurisdictio gratiosa et contentiosa* over the people of their Mission;[20] that they, being simple missionaries or chaplains, are no real pastors and should apply yearly to the Jesuit Vicar-General for faculties for the *Forum Internum*.[21] The Abbé contended that since the Capuchins lost the Vicar-Generalship in 1741, they also lost all concomitant privileges. But granting this point, their Provincial and Prefect across the sea could supply the requisite faculties. With such a prolific source of faculties at hand, the Capuchins had but seldom to draw on the powers of the local Vicar-General. However, nowhere does the Abbé concede the Capuchins the right to use the faculties they had from Propaganda through their Prefect, but always upholds the supremacy of the local Ordinary as Bishop de Mornay had done before him.

Regarding the Abbé's claim that there were no real parishes in Louisiana and that the Capuchins were no real pastors, to say the least, he seems to be in error. Mobile was canonically erected into a parish in 1703. Whether the other parishes were made canoni-

[19] *Analecta Ordinis Minorum Capucinorum*, XXI, p. 371. For text of these ample faculties see Vermeersch, S. J., *De Religiosis*, Tomus XI, pp. 56 ff., Brugis, 1920.

[20] Equivalent to the "voluntary and judicial jurisdictions" of present day canonists. The term "voluntary jurisdiction" is used in contrast to "jurisdictio contentiosa or judicialis." "The voluntary jurisdiction embraces the legislative and administrative power; the judicial, as the name suggests, has to do with the power exercised in the ecclesiastical court of deciding litigated questions of rights by judicial procedure and punishing transgressions of the law after trial and conviction." Cf. Woywod, Stanislaus, O. F. M., *A Practical Commentary on the Code of Canon Law*, I, p. 78, New York, 1925.

[21] Paris Arch. Col., F5A3, ff. 248-249.

cal is not absolutely certain, but true it is, the Capuchins were given the privileges of canonical pastors in the Decrees of their establishment in Louisiana. The Decree of May 16, 1722, says expressly that the Capuchins are "to perform through the Superior of the convent the pastoral functions in the town." [22] Again, they are "to conduct there the divine service and to administer the sacraments in *the capacity of pastors,* and according to the faculties given them by the Bishop of Quebec." [23] The phrase, "and according to the faculties given them by the Bishop of Quebec" to the Gallican mind need not necessarily mean that the Bishop could restrict those pastoral rights but that he could amplify them. That the Capuchins, then, could claim pastoral rights both from Propaganda and from the French Government seems a reasonable and just conclusion.

It was entirely different with the chaplaincy of the Military Hospital which the Capuchins alleged the Jesuits had seized from them. This was not the case, for the government had authorized Bienville to assign the chaplaincy of the hospital and the care of the Ursulines in charge thereof to the Jesuit, Father d'Outreleau. The reason for so doing is given in the Jesuit rejoinder to the complaints of the Capuchins on April 8, 1756. "Regarding the chaplaincy of the Military Hospital which the Capuchins allege was seized by the Jesuits, we know that in 1737, after the death of several Capuchins so that only two remained for the service of the parish and the vicinity of the city, M. Bienville and M. Salmon, entrusted the spiritual care of the hospital to the Jesuit, Father d'Outreleau, and this *ad interim.*" [24] Moreover, the appointment made by Bienville had also been duly confirmed by the Minister, Count de Maurepas, in his letter of October 7, 1741, in which he says expressly: "The chaplaincy of the Hospital of the King's troops belongs neither to the Jesuits nor to the Capuchins, but it pertains to the government to nominate a man as it sees fit, provided he be approved by the Ordinary." [25]

[22] Remplie par le Superieur du convent les fonctions curiales de lad ville. Paris Arch. Col., B43, f. 109.

[23] "Pour y faire le service divin et y administrer les Sacramens en qualite de Curez et veiller suivant les pouvoirs qui luy en seront donnez par M. l'Eveque de Quebec." *Ibid.*

[24] Paris Arch. Col., C13A39, ff. 135-136.

[25] *Ibid.*, F5A3, f. 248.

As a result of Father George's visit to France in reference to the ecclesiastical situation, the Capuchins wisely gave up their claim to the chaplaincy but nevertheless endeavored to defend their rights as pastors of New Orleans to administer the sacraments to the dying and bury the dead of the hospital. But their claim was probably untenable, since the hospital was the province of the Jesuits, and, although the Capuchins were pastors of the city, still it seems only reasonable to suppose that when the government appointed the Jesuits to their hospital work it also conferred on them pastoral rights for the hospital precinct. Likewise, the Capuchins were equally wrong in complaining that the Jesuits performed baptisms and marriages for their slaves at their own posts. For this the Jesuits had a papal privilege which the Capuchins were obliged to respect.

That this ecclesiastical situation was deplorable, causing embarrassments to both communities and scandal to the laity, is only to be expected. Bishop Pontbriand realized that a definite decision by one in authority would be the only solution, and seeing that neither the Superior Council of Louisiana nor the authorities at Paris would uphold his case, he decided to have recourse to Rome. Accordingly, when the dissension was at its height, he instructed Abbé de l'Isle-Dieu to appeal to His Holiness Pope Clement XIII for a decree favorable to the Jesuits against the Capuchins. The appeal was forwarded to Rome and handed over to a commission of cardinals, who in turn sought more information from the Procurator General of the Capuchins. The Procurator, endeavoring to enlighten their Eminences, deemed it well to first write to the Capuchin Provincial of Champagne, who at the same time was Prefect of the Mission. In a long letter the Prefect replied by enumerating firmly but without bitterness the reasons in defense of his brethren across the sea. His letter, bearing the date of July 9, 1759, is preserved in both the Vatican and Propaganda Archives and has hitherto never been published. Touching on the history of the Mission, he calls attention to the various Ordinances issued in favor of the Capuchins and quotes a verbal translation of the salient article of June 27, 1725, in which the Company, in order to forestall all inconveniences and discord wont to arise when two religious orders work in the same field, determined that the Capuchins of Champagne have sole charge of the Louisiana Mission *sub*

auctoritate R. Episcopi Quebecensis, quin alius Religiosus aut Presbyter secularis absque illorum consensu ibi introduci aut stabiliri possit, et sic ibidem absque ulla molestia et impedimento degere valeant.[26]

The letter continues to point out that in 1726 the Jesuits asked for and obtained Letters Patent by which they also were admitted to do missionary work in Louisiana among the savages. However, mindful of its original grant to the Capuchins, the Company made it clear to the Jesuits that they should not perform any ecclesiastical function without the consent of the Capuchin Superior. They were allowed to erect a small hospice in New Orleans where a priest and a lay brother might reside, but no other Jesuits were permitted to settle there, since the hospice was to be merely a station where travelling missionaries might seek temporary shelter and repose. Thus the Company safeguarded its first agreement of 1725, that the Capuchins alone were to be the Superiors of the Louisiana Mission.

The contract of February 20, 1726, entered into between the Capuchins and the Jesuits through the Company, was by no means rescinded but still binding when the Jesuits commenced to infringe on it despite the fact that the title and jurisdiction of Vicar-General was invested in the Capuchin Superior. Indeed, continues the Capuchin Prefect, they finally so ingratiated themselves with the Bishop of Quebec that he bestowed his Vicar-Generalship on their Society and granted them privileges totally contrary to the contract which forbade them to exercise any ecclesiastical function without the consent of the Capuchins. With authority now in their hands, the Jesuit house at New Orleans, hitherto merely a hospice, became the home of many Jesuits who went so far as to persuade themselves that they had the right to administer the sacraments in the churches of the Capuchins, to restrict and even to withdraw the missionary faculties of the latter, to interdict their churches and to remove anyone who should oppose their arbitrary measures. After these and other statements, the Prefect continues:

> This presupposed, everybody will clearly see that, since the Vicar-Generalship perpetually invested in the Jesuits is not in harmony with the laws of the kingdom and could not be entered

[26] Vatican Arch., 8064, f. 222.

> into the Acts, the Jesuits remain deprived of the external exercise of jurisdiction, since like all others, they are obliged as subjects to observe the laws and constitutions of the kingdom. On the other hand, it can not be laid to the fault of the Capuchins, that they in conformity with the intention and will of the king, refuse to submit to that which is expressly contrary to the contracts mentioned above. How, therefore, can anyone say that the Capuchins refuse obedience due the Bishop, since they only refuse to recognize the authority and jurisdiction of the Jesuit Superior, who is not approved by the laws of the kingdom? And how can the Capuchins be considered more guilty for having simply complained of the violation of their privileges and parochial rights than the Jesuits who, against the royal statutes, undertake to exercise over them a jurisdiction not competent to them? [27]

In the face of these unpleasant circumstances, the informant goes on to say that the Capuchins finally decided to abandon their Mission to the Jesuits. But no sooner did their intention become known than a royal order was issued commanding them to continue serving the Mission in agreement with the same conditions stipulated in the Diplomas given them when their Mission was established. Their answer to this royal order was a petition to the Court either to maintain them in the privileges bestowed on them at the foundation of their Mission or to grant them leave to end the discord by abandoning the Mission to the Jesuits. To this petition came the answer through Monsieur François Marie de Moras, Minister of the Navy, that the King upholds the original agreement between the Capuchins and the Jesuits according to which the latter were forbidden to exercise any ecclesiastical function whatsoever without the permission of the former.[28]

This was the mind of the Capuchins in 1759, mirrored in the report of the Provincial of Champagne, who was the Prefect of the Mission. Their defense is built up entirely on the theory of State supremacy. Here was a delicate problem for Propaganda, which for obvious reasons gave no decision. There was question of something more important than the settling of a quarrel between two religious communities neither of which was essential to the Church or her missions. There was at stake a great principle which

[27] Vat. Arch., 8064, f. 224.
[28] *Ibid.*, f. 225.

the Church could not sacrifice. It was a question of whether Gallicanism or Ultramontanism was to prevail. If on the one hand the Pope had sided with the Jesuits in favor of Ultramontanism, the French Church would have been more jeopardized from the hostile attitude of the government; if on the other, he had upheld the claims of the Capuchins, he would have been officially recognizing the Gallican principle which the Church abominated. In the meantime the Capuchins went on declining obedience to the Jesuit Vicar-General in virtue of rights received from His Majesty the King, with at least tolerance on the part of the Roman Ecclesiastical Authorities.

In the Vatican Archives there is a document drawn up by Cardinal Tamburini, a consultor in the case, who proposed a solution by compromise. The Capuchins should obey the Vicar-General, although a Jesuit, because Pope Benedict XIV had in 1741 granted Bishop Pontbriand permission to appoint to that office whomsoever he willed. The Jesuits, however, are bound to observe the treaty of 1726 in its other provision that only one priest and a lay brother may reside at New Orleans. The presence, therefore, of several Jesuits at New Orleans encroaching on the rights of the Capuchins is intolerable because a violation of their agreement. The Jesuit Vicar-General alone may perform the parochial functions because he performs them not as a Jesuit but as the Vicar-General. Regarding the agreements or treaty which the Jesuits made with the Capuchins in 1726, when the former were admitted into New Orleans, the Cardinal says:

> I believe they must be observed by the Jesuits, because, though the paper presented by the Capuchins does not mention it, these agreements were approved by this Sacred Congregation and the General of the Jesuits. However, they [Capuchins] only point out that they were approved by the Royal Letters Patent. Since this agreement was made between them at the time when the Capuchins gave their consent for the establishment of the Jesuits in that city, it must be demanded that they be punctually observed, as is evident from the Chapter *Quia ex eo de parte VIo,* in which Boniface VIII ordains that contracts made by religious in any place whatsoever with a pastor or other ecclesiastical persons, must be observed, and in violating them, the pretext should not be advanced that these contracts were not confirmed by their

> major superiors, and this the more, since these contracts are in conformity with this Sacred Congregation which would not permit that in missions which are assigned to one Religious Order, another Order be introduced, because experience teaches that this will give rise to dissensions and scandals, doing great harm to the service of God.
>
> Nevertheless, I think it should be written to the Capuchin Fathers: *Teneri in ys quibus Ordinario loci subyciuntur, obedientiam praestare eius Vicario Generali, quamvis Jesuitae; Jesuitas vero, non posse alterare pacta conventa cum Cappuccinis occasione receptionis in eodem loco, sed ea debere religiose servari.*[29]

The solution of the Jesuit-Capuchin problem as suggested by the Cardinal is as fair as the most captious might demand. The consultor argues from the principles of Canon Law, passing over the Gallicanism of the French Capuchins as a subject too dangerous to deal with. The information that the Jesuit treaty of 1726 had been ratified by Propaganda and the General of the Jesuits is a fact of which not only the Capuchins of that day but apparently all who have hitherto written on the subject have been totally unaware. Accordingly, the behavior of Father de Beaubois in the first conflict between the two orders was a violation of a treaty sanctioned not only by the Bishop of Quebec and the King, but by the Congregation of Propaganda and the General of the Society of Jesus. But the suggested solution of Cardinal Tamburini elicited no definite response from the Holy See. On the margin of his document is written: "Dilata, et audiantur P. P. Societatis Jesu necnon scribatur Nuntio Apostolico apud Regem Christianissimum circa exposita a P. P. Cappuccinis."[30] Explanatory of this document is another dated 1765, in the Propaganda Archives, which says: "The Capuchins produced their defense. The Sacred Congregation decreed, *Dilata,* so that the Jesuits could be meanwhile informed of, and the Nuncio of Paris could be asked about the contents of the defense of the Capuchins, but nothing else is found than that it was written to him, but the matter did not advance any further."[31]

[29] Vatican Arch., 8064, f. 229.

[30] *Ibid.*, f. 228.

[31] Prop. Arch. *Scritt. Rifer.*, Amer. Cent. I, f. 431.

On the back of this document is the following important remark under the title: "Notes on Louisiana, September, 1765."

> The said Nuncio has now answered in a letter dated July 27, *ult.*, and says that he was assured by Cardinal de Boy [Dubois] that His Eminence has heard from the man who tends to this business that the exposition of Father [Provincial] of Chaumont has not even been seriously considered, as to whether said island of Louisiana is sufficiently provided with missionaries and other religious who work for the benefit of those souls, or whether the sending of new missionaries, especially of a different Order, might disturb the good administration of said mission and might check the further progress of the Catholic religion in the same.[32]

This is probably the last documentary reference to the matter in question. After due investigation Rome, as late as 1765, had taken no action against the Capuchins, because the French Government had failed to consider seriously the exposition of the Capuchin Provincial of Champagne. At the time this was written the Capuchins were alone in the Mission, the Jesuits having been expelled from Louisiana in 1763, following their suppression in France. In May, 1765, the Abbé de l'Isle-Dieu nominated the Capuchin, Father Dagobert, Vicar-General of Louisiana to replace the Jesuit Father Baudouin.

The story of the persecution of the Jesuits forms a gruesome chapter in Louisiana history. Beginning with the action of Paris in 1761, the Parliaments of several provinces of France condemned the Society of Jesus. The principal accusations brought against them were: (1) That the Jesuits attacked the royal authority, (2) encroached on the rights of bishops, and (3) endangered the public safety. In addition to these general charges, it was argued against them in Louisiana: (1) That they took no care of their missions; (2) that they thought of nothing save how to improve their plantation; (3) that they usurped the office of Vicar-General.[33] The Superior Council of Louisiana condemned them

[32] *Ibid.*

[33] O'Brien, J. J., S. J., "Sketch of the Expulsion of the Society of Jesus from Colonial Louisiana," in *Publications of the Louisiana Historical Society*, 1916, vol. IX, p. 18.

July 9, 1763, and as a result all Jesuit property was seized and sold at auction. The Capuchin Fathers were to receive the vestment and altar plate of their chapel in New Orleans, but instead they were handed over to the attorney of the English King. After despoiling the Jesuit churches, they were levelled to the ground and many people were left destitute of priest and altar. Many Jesuits were insulted and abused and driven from the colony. In their dire misfortune they met with the sympathy of all good people, including, especially, the Capuchins, who, forgetting their strained relations, hastened to the duty of charity. Says Shea:

> The Jesuits, torn from their missions, were then taken down to New Orleans, meeting sympathy at every French post, the Capuchin Father Irenaeus, at Pointe Coupée, doing for them all that he could have done for the most esteemed of his own brethren. The Capuchins at New Orleans came to receive them with every mark of sympathy, and obtained a house adjoining their own to shelter them, and in gratitude, the books which had been spared the Jesuits, and which formed a little library, were given by them to the Capuchin Fathers.[34]

In January and February, 1764, the Jesuits embarked for France. The aged Superior and former Vicar-General, Father Michael Baudouin, was allowed to remain in New Orleans, either because his seventy-two years excited compassion, or more probably because, being a Canadian, he was a British subject and had no friends or relatives in France. It has been stated that M. Etienne Boré,[35] seeing the helplessness of Father Baudouin, was moved to pity and offered him the hospitality of his home until his death some three years later.[36] This statement may well be challenged, for the official *Declaration of L'Abbé Baudouin* of July 7, 1766, says expressly that the aged missionary lodged at the Capuchin presbytery. This candid declaration, solemnly made within the humble walls of the Capuchin presbytery, bespeaks the deep sense of justice and right that animated the man who suffered most unjustly. We give the document in full because, so far as we know, it has never been published:

[34] Shea, *Op. cit.*, p. 590.
[35] Grandfather of Charles Gayarre, historian.
[36] O'Brien, J. J., *Op. cit.*, p. 22.

July 7, 1766.

Declaration of L'Abbé Baudouin.

On this seventh day of July, one thousand seven hundred and sixty-six, at eight o'clock in the morning, on petition of M. L'Abbe Baudouin, former Superior of the Mission of the self-styled Jesuits who were established in the colony, We Notary Royal of the Province of Louisiana and Chief of the Superior Council, went with the below named and undersigned witnesses, to the presbytery of this city, *where the Abbé Baudouin lodges,* and being there, we entered a room of this house where we found the said Abbé seated, bodily slightly indisposed owing to his advanced age but sane of mind, memory and understanding, as it appeared to us and to the undersigned witnesses who told us that he had prayed Messrs. Charles Aubry, Knight of the Royal and Military Order of St. Louis, commanding the said Province for His Majesty; Denis Nicolas Foucault, acting Intendant and First Judge in the Council; Reverend Father Dagobert, Capuchin Superior of the Missions and Vicar-General of this city; Louis Piot de Launay, Councillor and Nicolas Chauvin de Lafrenière, Attorney General of the King, to be present at the Judicial Act which he intends dictating to us, to ease his conscience which is somewhat disturbed; and after having waited about a quarter of an hour, Messrs. Aubry, Foucault, Reverend Father Dagobert, de Launay, de la Frenière, having appeared, the said Abbé Baudouin requested us to receive his declaration which follows, and having stood up said to us:

" Gentlemen, I have had the honor of asking you to be present, intending to give due solemnity to these presents. It has come to my hearing that in France a certificate has appeared said to emanate from me, signed by my hand, which attests that at the time when I was Superior of our Missions I deposited in the hands of Sr. de Kerlerec, then Governor of the colony, a large sum of money, which, following the circumstances which befell and the confiscation of the goods of our Society, the said Sr. Kerlerec had appropriated, in the certainty that he had furnished me no acknowledgment of said deposit.

As this undertaking affects and attacks my conscience, and gives me great remorse owing to the considerable prejudice caused the said creditors, and would render me guilty of perjury in the acts and verbal processes which were made at the time of the affixing of the seals on our goods and inventories of same, in which I and all the Fathers of said Society of Jesus

took the oath that we had not taken away anything whatsoever, nor had we any knowledge of the least thing being taken away or secreted, to restore to our conscience its usual tranquillity, I declare and attest before you, Gentlemen, that such a certificate never came from my pen, and that if it exists, my signature was obtained under a false impression in making me sign one paper for another of which I am ignorant; in consequence, I protest and declare it false and obtained under misapprehension, and to repair the great wrong done to the reputation for integrity of Sr. de Kerlerec, I attest and affirm and swear by all that is most sacred that no sum of money nor of specie was ever turned over to Sr. Kerlerec, either as a deposit or as a loan.

This, Gentlemen, is what I had to say in order to ease my conscience, and may it please you to make this present declaration manifest and public, that it may efface the impressions which may have been made on susceptible minds by this false certificate which was disseminated. Wherefore, Gentlemen, I demand that the present declaration be certified after having been written word for word by the undersigned Notary, as here transcribed, who having read and reread it, gave act of it to the said Abbé Baudouin to serve him and all others as need may be.

Made and declared at the said house of the presbytery of New Orleans, the aforesaid day and month in the presence of Sr. Joseph Maison and Leonard Mazange, required witnesses here residing, and having signed with the appearer and declarer and the Notary *etc.*

Aubry. L'Abbé Baudouin. Foucault. La Frenière. F. Dagobert, *cap. Supr.* De Launay. Jamison. Garic Nore. Greffr.[37]

With the Jesuits, the Fathers of the Foreign Missions in the Tamarois also left Louisiana when they saw the French officials make war on religion. Nine Jesuits had been banished from the colony, leaving just nine or ten Capuchins on whom, besides their own work, devolved the Indian Missions of the Jesuits, together with the care of two hospitals, the Ursuline Convent with its Academy and free schools. Five Capuchins were employed in New Orleans, the population of which was estimated at about four

[37] Arch. (LHS), 80869-80871.

thousand.[38] Of course, the field was too extensive for so small a number, and several of the smaller missions, as the Chapitoulas and the fort below New Orelans, as regular stations had to be abandoned. Contemporaneous with the banishment of the Jesuits, Louisiana was ceded to Spain. On October 7, 1764, Father Dagobert became pastor and was the last Capuchin to be installed in the French Domination. On March 5, 1766, Don Antonio de Ulloa arrived from Spain as governor, and the Spanish Domination began. The French Capuchins continued at their posts and their number was soon increased by the arrival of their brethren from Spain.

CONCLUSION

In the foregoing pages we have accompanied the Capuchins of Champagne through their many and trying vicissitudes in Louisiana. Their story, as related in the documents of the time, differs widely from that of current histories. Their Mission was hard and they received little or no encouragement once they had taken it over. Always short of men, their hardships were still further increased by the indifference of both government and people. The bulk of the population was bent on temporary gain and gave no thought to religion. Only with the greatest difficulty did the missionaries succeed in preserving the little faith that existed.

Besides these factors, the controversy which involved the missionaries themselves for half the period must also have had a share in retarding the Mission. But the unhappy conflict, while disedifying in the main, should not astonish the reader. Conflicts of this nature must of necessity burden the pages of history because of human nature, its frailty, ambition and passion; and while the Church must needs deplore them, she is not the weaker for the faults of her children. In the difficulty with Father de Beaubois the Capuchins must not be censured for pressing a privilege not only conferred on them, but also assured them by the highest

[38] Shea, John Gilmary, *The Catholic Church in Colonial Days*, p. 591, New York, 1886. See also Watrin, Philibert Francis, S. J., "Memoir on the Louisiana Missions," in *Researches* (ACHS), XVII, p. 93.

authority. In combatting their opponent, the friars had done nothing unwarranted by justice, nothing more than the Jesuits themselves had done but a score of years before.

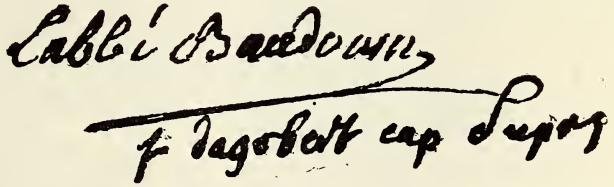
In 1698, when the Priests of the Foreign Missions of Paris had obtained episcopal authorization for establishing themselves in the Tamarois Mission, the Jesuits resented it and urged that this Indian tribe was already under their care. But on July 14, 1698, Bishop Saint Vallier confirmed the appointment of the Foreign Missionaries and they proceeded to the Tamarois territory. The Jesuits received them cordially at first, but later did not hesitate to show by their conduct that they regarded the presence of the new missionaries as an intrusion into their field. "Ere long," says Shea, "the Very Reverend Mr. Montigny found his position so embarrassing and unpleasant that he began to foresee only loss and failure in the mission on which he had embarked so zealously and given his means so freely."[1] Hoping to adjust matters, the Foreign Missionary sailed for France in May, 1700.

While Father Montigny was absent on this mission to France, Father Bergier became his successor and resided in the Tamarois district. In September, 1700, Father St. Cosme, the Foreign Missionary at Natchez, wrote to Paris complaining that the Jesuit Fathers, Gravier and Binneteau, attempted to prevent his officiating in the chapel at the fort. At the same time the Jesuits protested to the King of France against the intrusion into their district of missonaries who belonged to another community. But on June 4, 1701, a commission appointed by the King upheld the decision of the Bishop of Quebec that henceforth the Tamarois Mission belonged to the Priests of the Foreign Missions. Finally the Jesuits took their case to Rome petitioning that "orders be given the Bishop of Quebec to assign them a district in South America called 'Missisipi," because they are disturbed in all places where they go by the Missionaries of Foreign Missions."[2] We are not concerned with the motivation of the Jesuits, but if they were moved to oppose the proximity of the new missionaries because they foresaw friction, we may well say that the Capuchins in New Orleans were guided by similar fears, all of which were verified.

[1] *The Catholic Church in Colonial Days*, p. 541, New York, 1886.
[2] Prop. Arch., *Atti*, ff. 211-212, no. 7.

The second conflict justifies the Capuchins only in so far as we respect their viewpoint and meet them on common ground. They were children of their age, sons of France, impregnated with a national reverence. The Church herself, albeit unwillingly, had tolerated the Gallican claims and the Capuchins of Louisiana naturally built up their defense upon that toleration. This is the truth of the matter and not the theory which seeks to interpret their action as a result of unworthy ambition.

In dealing with this and similar situations the proper attitude of Catholic historians is not only to refrain from distorting historical facts, but to tell historical truth—the whole truth—when its recital contributes to a better understanding of the situation. Church history is not necessarily a panegyric. The narration of disedifying and even scandalous conduct on the part of human agencies in the Church will certainly not overshadow her divinity but bring it into bolder relief. Here the instruction of Pope Leo XIII must be our rule. In his letter on Historical Studies of August 18, 1883, the Pontiff quoted approvingly the advice of Cicero: "that the first law of history is not to dare to say what is false; next, not to fear to state what is true; nor to let arise any suspicion of partiality or animosity in writing."



Signatures of Abbé Baudouin, Jesuit, and Fr. Dagobert, Capuchin, taken from the Abbé's Declaration. The facsimile was obtained through the courtesy of the Louisiana Historical Society of New Orleans.

INDEX

Adayes, 64.
Agnan, Capuchin, 52.
Amand, Capuchin, 52.
Ame, 65.
Alcas, M., 169.
Alexis, de, Carmelite, 15.
Allemands Les, 54-59.
Alibamons, Indians, 1, 67, 122.
Almonester y Roxas, Don Andres, 83.
Anglo-Indians, 88-89.
Anselm, of Langres, Capuchin, 60.
Apalaches, Indians, 10, 51, 60-62, 67.
Apalachian, 53.
Arcange, 65.
Arkansas, Indians, 33, 86, 122.
Assinais, Indians, 64.
Ayubale, 61.

Balize, 49-50.
Barnabas, Capuchin, at Mobile, 52; at Les Allemands, 57.
Barnabe, Capuchin, at Natchitoches, 65.
Barromeo, St. Charles Church, 54.
Bascagoulas, Indians, 60.
Baudouin, Michael, Jesuit missionary to Chickasaws, 122; Vicar-General, 176; refuses to show credentials, 177; blesses chapel and proclaims Jubilee Indulgence at New Orleans, 178; remains in New Orleans after suppression of Society of Jesus, 190; makes declaration, 191-192.
Bayagoulas, Indians, 67.
Beaubois, Nicholas Ignatius de, Jesuit, Superior in Illinois, 33; recruits Ursulines for school and hospital, 77; life of, 89; not acceptable to Company of Indies, 90; apprises Fr. Raphael of Jesuit treaty, 93-94; supports Bienville faction, 114, 147; buys slaves in Sa ı Domingo, 119-121; Procurator in New Orleans, 122; Vicar-General for Indian Missions, 123; claims faculties, 128; writes for faculties of Vicar-General, 130; explains bishop's letter, 133-142; against Governor Perier, 146; exaggerations against, 151, 154; vindictive against charges, 158-159; faculties offered, 163; condemns Abbé Raguet, 163; recalled to France, 165; returns to Mission, 167; returns to France, 168.
Bienville, accompanies Iberville to Louisiana, 6; Governor of colony, 7; suggests change of base, 12; governor for second time, 17; indicates site of church, 18; gives land to Germans, 55; assigns fields and grain to Apalaches, 61; approves plan for school, 74; protests against character of colonists, 103; recalled to France, 113; returns to govern colony, 167.
Biloxi, named after Indians, 6; priests at, 8; unsuitable for capital, 17.
Binneteau, Jesuit, 194.
Blanche, concession, 47.
Boisbriant, 7, 11.
Bolton, Herbert Eugene, historian, 65.
Bordenave, priest of the Foreign Missions, 8.
Boré, Etienne, 190.
Botz, de, 74.
Boullenger, Le, Jesuit, 122.
Boyer, Prothais, Recollect, 18, 19.
Breton, Le, missionary, 19.
Bru, Councillor, 72.
Bruno, of Langres, Capuchin, 25, 28, 29, 30.
Brusle, Councillor, 72, 74.

Caddo, Indians, 64.
Cadillac, La Mothe, Governor, 13, 14.
Cannes Brulées, 67.
Capuchins, Missionaries of Louisiana, 1; canonical pastors, 25, 26, 183; at Mobile, 27; salary of, 32; resent new division of Mission, 32; given Mission in perpetuity, 37; espouse cause of Tonicas, 63;

bad subjects, 151; use privileges from Propaganda, 181; charitable to Jesuits at suppression, 190.
Carmelites, Discalced, offered Mission of Mobile, 15; granted Prefecture by Propaganda, 16; Vicars-General at Mobile, 24; recalled, 25.
Chaise, La, Pére, King's confessor, 5.
Chaise, de la, Commissary at New Orleans, 41; defends Capuchins, 71; opposes Ursulines, 78; reports against Fr. de Beaubois, 150; buried, 169.
Champagne, Capuchin Province of, 22, 23, 25; small in number, 86; Provincials are Prefects of the Missions, 181.
Chapitoulas, Indians, 66-67; 123, 193.
Charles, Carmelite, 19, 33, 51, 61, 169, 175.
Charlevoix, Francois X. de, Jesuit historian, 18.
Chato, Indians, 53.
Chester, English Governor, 53.
Chickasaw, Indians, 1, 9, 63, 88, 122, 166.
Choctaw, Indians, 1, 53, 122.
Chouachas, Indians, 113.
Christopher, Capuchin of Chaumont, 25, 85.
Claude, Capuchin, 51, 85.
Code, Black, 51, 106.
Colbert, French Minister, 4, 5.
Collas, Indians, 113.
Company, of Indies, formation of, 14-15; refuses to pay for school, 72.
Creoles, 59.
Crozat, Antony, 12, 13, 14.
Crucy, Brother, Jesuit, 77.
Cyril, Capuchin, 94, 70, 123.

Dagobert, Capuchin, at Les Allemands, 57; at Natchitoches, 65; at New Orleans, 175, 191; Vicar-General, 189, 193.
D'Arensbourg, Karl Friedrich, Commandant at German Coast, 55, 108.
Darquevana, missionary, 19.
D'Artaguette, Diron, 11.
D'Auberville, M., 177.
Dauphin Island, 13, 53.
Davion, Antony, priest of Foreign Missions, 10, 11; with the Tonicas, 50, 62, 63; first baptism at Mobile, 61.
D'Avaugour, Procurator of Jesuit Missions, 32, 33, 90, 91, 152.
Deiler, J. Hanno, 54.
D'Estrées, Cardinal, 5.
Dieppe, 16.
Dieu, Abbe de l'Isle, Vicar- General of Mgr. Dosquet, 171; Vicar-General to Mgr. Pontbriand, 173; opposes faculties of Capuchins, 182-184.
Dongé, Peter, Jesuit, 9, 10.
Dosquet, Mgr., succeeds Mgr. De Mornay, 171; goes to Rome, 172; resigns see, 173.
Douay, Anastasius, Recollect missionary, 4; Prefect of Mission, 8.
D'Outreleau, Jesuit, 77, 122, 174.
Du Hal, of St. Malo, missionary, 19.
Du Ru, Paul, Jesuit, 8, 9.

Education, 69-83.
English Settlements, 14, 68.
Eusebius of Chaumont, Capuchin Brother, 25.
Eustache, Capuchin, 65.

Fabrique, 41.
Felix, Capuchin, 52.
Ferdinand, Capuchin, 52-53.
Fleuriau, M., 76, 108, 110.
Foreign Missions, Priests of, 8. See also Seminary Priests.
Fourcault, Nicholas, Jesuit, 63.
François, Jean, Capuchin, 52, 65.
Frenière, la, 70, 71.
Frontenac, Count de, 4.

Gallicanism, 24, 25, 130, 180, 182, 183, 195.
Gaspard, Capuchin, 123.
George, of Frequemont, Capuchin, 176, 177, 178, 184.
Germans, hardships, 55; ambitions, 56. See also Les Allemands.
Gironde, 77.
Gravier, Jacques, Jesuit, 63, 194.
Guerin, Rene François, missionary, 19.
Guienne, de, Jesuit, 122.
Guimonneau, Jesuit, 122.

Harpe, La, historian, 63.
Hebert, Sister St. Xavier, 82.
Hennepin, Louis, Recollect, 3.
Hilary, of Geneveaux, Capuchin, 52; Prothonotary Apostolic, 179.
Hospital, Charity, 82-83.
Hospital, Military, 81, 183.
Huomas, Indians, 60.
Hûve, Alexander, missionary, 10, 17.
Hyacinth, Capuchin, 86, 70, 123.

Iberville, Pierre le Moyne, 6, 7.
Indians, and Company, 14; hostility of, 2, 11; slaves, 20: Alibamons, 1, 67, 122; Apalaches, 10, 51. 53, 60-62, 67; Arkansas, 53, 86, 122; Assinais, 64; Biloxi, 6; Bascagoulas, 60; Bayagoulas, 67; Caddo, 64; Chapitoulas, 66-67, 123, 193; Chato, 53; Chickasaw, 1, 9, 63, 88, 122, 166; Choctaw, 1, 53, 122; Chouachas, 113; Collas, 113; Huomas, 60; Metchigamias, 122; Michilimackinac, 8; Mobilians, 53; Natchez, 1, 63, 88, 48, 63, 165, 166; Natchitoches, 62, 67; Pascagoulas, 9; Pensacolas, 9; Peoria, 8; Taensaw, 53; Tamarois, 32; 192, 194; Tejas, 64; Tonicas, 50, 62-64; Yazoo, 33, 35, 86, 88, 122.
Irenaeas, Capuchin, 60.

James, of St. Martin, Carmelite, 15, 16.
Jesuits, in Indian Settlements, 5; appeal for exclusive district, 9; recalled to France, 9; in Illinois, 23, 28; salary of, 33, 121; praised by Bishop Vallier, 36; at New Orleans, 92; exiled from Louisiana, 189, 190; give books to Capuchins, 190.
Jolliet, Louis, explorer, 3, 4.
Juif, missionary, 19.
Julien, St., Brother, Capuchin, 70.
Jurisdiction, restriction of, 84; of Capuchins and Jesuits, 119; voluntary and judicial, 182.

Kaskaskia, 8, 33, 122.
Kerebin, de, Jesuit, 122.
Koly, M., 67, 82.
Koroa, Indians, 63.

Lancaster-Bell, system of education, 81.
Langloy, M., 70, 72, 73, 74.
La Salle, Robert Cavelier de, explorer, 3, 5.
La Salle Intendant Commissary of Crown, 11.
Lavaud, John, Jesuit Provincial, 174.
La Vente, Henry Roulleaux de, missionary, 10, 11.
Law. John, head of Company, 14; failure of, 15, 20, 54, 55, 103.
Le Clercq, Maximus, Recollect, 4.
Le Febvre, Hyacinth, Prefect of Mission, 4.
Letters-Patent, to Carmelites, 15; to Capuchins, 25, 37, 38, 99, 178; to Jesuits, 36, 185.
Louis XIV, 3.
Louis XV, 38, 40.
Louis, Jean, sailor, 82.
Louisiana, primeval, 1; naming, 3; statistics of, 11, 20; commerce, 14; districts, 20; ecclesiastical divisions, 23; character of settlers, 101-106.

Machault, M., 182.
Magdalene, de St. Mary, Carmelite, 15.
Margil, Antóny, Franciscan, 64.
Marquette, Jacques, 3, 4.
Mathias, of Sedan, Capuchin, at Mobile, 51; Vicar-General, 171; deposed, 173.
Matthew, Jean Baptiste of St. Anne, Carmelite, 16, 17, 19, 24, 51.
Maurepas, French Minister, 6; on chaplaincy of Military Hospital, 183.
Maximin, Capuchin, 65, 123.
Maximin, Carmelite, 19, 24.
Membré, Zenobius, Recollect, 3, 4.
Mercier Le, missionary, 32.
Metchigamias, Indians, 122.
Mezières, Bartholomew de, Capuchin Provincial, 173.
Michilimackinac, Indians, 8.
Mississippi-Bubble, 15.
Mobile, Fort Louis de la, 7; canonical parish, 9; Baptismal Record, 10; capital, 12, 51-53.
Mobilians, Indians, 1, 53.
Monier, Le, missionary, 19.
Montigny, missionary, 62, 194.
Moras, François Marie de, Minister of Navy, 186.

Morguet, Dionysius, Recollect, 4.
Morez, missionary, 19.
Mornay, Louis François Duplessis de, Coadjutor of Quebec, Capuchin, 22; against Carmelites, 24, 25; head of Louisiana Mission, 37; to Raguet about Jesuits, 94-96; resigns see, 171.
Natchez, Indians, 1, 63, 88; Church of, 42-49, 67; jurisdiction, 32-36; massacre, 48, 63, 165, 166.
Natchitoches, Indians, 62, 67; Church of, 64-66.
Negro, 14, 15, 20, 25, 67.
New Orleans, clearance for, 17; description, 18; Church of, 30, 40-42, 113, 172, 192.
Nicholas, of Chaumont, Capuchin Provincial of Champagne, 23.
Nuns, Gray, 10, 77.
Nuns, Ursuline, see Ursuline Nuns.

O'Donoghue, Bonaventure, missionary, 19.
Oudeardo, Antonio, Conventual missionary, 19.

Pailla, M., 112.
Paillouˇ, Aide-Major, 12.
Pascagoulas, Indians, 9.
Pauger, M., 18, 99, 169.
Penicaut, chronicler, 61.
Pensacola, 13, 20.
Pensacolas, Indians, 9.
Peoria, Indians, 8.
Perga, John de, Franciscan, 60.
Perier, Governor, 44, 60, 62; defends Capuchins, 71; confidential with Fr. de Beaubois, 115; resigns office of governor, 167.
Peter, Capuchin, 74.
Petit, Le, Jesuit, 51, 122, 165, 173.
Philibert, of Viander, Capuchin, 25, 44, 47, 123.
Philip, 57; at German Coast, 58; Vicar-General, 173, 174.
Plantation, Jesuit, 119.
Pointe Coupée, Church of, 59-60, 63.
Poisson, de, Jesuit, 122.
Pontbriand, Mgr., Bishop, 76, 173; obtains dispensation for Jesuits, 175; appeals to king, 180; appeals to Rome, 184.
Pontchartrain, Minister of France, 9.
Prefect, Capuchin, on Louisiana Mission, 184.
Prosper, Capuchin, 52, 57.
Protestants, 17, 51, 106.

Raguet, Gilles Bernard, Sulpician, Ecclesiastical Director of Company, 24; to M de la Chaise, 41, 84, 87, 97; on invalid marriages, 111; advises Fr. Raphael, 125; to Procurator of Jesuits, 162; to Jesuit Provincial, 153; defends Fr. de Beaubois, 152; friend of Jesuits, 156, 157.
Rambervillier, Charles, Capuchin, 174.
Raphael, of Luxemburg, Capuchin, Superior and Vicar-General of Mission, 29; visits Natchez, 43; on Fr. Maximin, 45; visits Mobile, 52 visits Pointe Coupée, 60; visits the Apalaches, 62; pleads for Tonicas, 64; pleads for Natchitoches, 65; visits Chapitoulas, 66; zeal for missions, 68; on behalf of Capuchin School, 69-74; denounces Bienville Party, 105; in praise of Perier, 114-117; criticizes Ursuline School, 124; grants faculties to Jesuit, 126; comments on Fr. de Beaubois' letter, 132-142; is discouraged, 142; protests to Company, 143-149; interdicts Jesuits, 168; death and burial, 168, 169.
Red Church, 54.
Richard, missionary, 19.
Rochemonteix, Jesuit historian, 33, 153, 155.
Rosalie, Fort, 42.

Salmon, Edme Gratien, 74.
Sauvolle, 8, 88.
School, Capuchin, 69, 70, 76. See Education and Fr. Raphael.
Seminary Priests of Quebec, 9, 32. See Priests of Foreign Missions.
Seraphim, Capuchin, 52.
Soto, Hernando de, explorer, 1, 2.
Souel, Jesuit, 122.
Source, La, Priest of Foreign Missions, 62.
Stanislaus, Capuchin, 65.

Taensaw, Indians, 53.

Tamarois, Indians, 32, 192, 194.
Tamburini, Cardinal, 187.
Tamur, missionary, 32.
Tartarin, Jesuit, 77, 122.
Tejas, Indians, 64.
Theodore, Capuchin, 67, 70, 94, 123.
Tonicas, Indians, 50, 62-64.
Tour, La, M., 19.
Tranchepain Mother of St. Augustine, 77, 168.
Treaty, Jesuit, 83, 92.
Turbil, missionary, 19.

Ursuline, Nuns, 77, 78, 79, 80, 81.
Ulloa, Don Antonio, 193.
Ultramontanism, 187.

Valentine, Capuchin, 65.
Vallier, Saint, Bishop of Quebec, protests against Prefecture, 4, 5; pastoral, 22; advises Fr. Raphael, 34; to Commissaries, 35.
Victorin, Recollect, 62, 123.
Vitry, Jesuit, 52, 65, 176.

Watrin, Jesuit, 42, 50, 66, 67.
Watteau, Melithon, Recollect, 3.

Yazoo, Indians, 33, 35, 86, 88, 122.

VITA.

Claude Lawrence Vogel, O. M. Cap., M. A., was born in Pittsburgh, Pa., on August 24, 1894. Upon completion of his elementary studies at St. Augustine's School of Pittsburgh, he entered St. Fidelis' Preparatory Seminary at Herman, Pa., whence he was graduated in 1914. In July of the same year he joined the Capuchin Franciscan Order making his novitiate at St. Mary's Monastery, Herman. He then spent two years in the study of philosophy at St. Fidelis' Monastery, Victoria, Kansas, and four years in theology at SS. Peter and Paul's Monastery, Cumberland, Md. On May 26, 1921, he was ordained to the priesthood by the Right Reverend Owen B. Corrigan, D. D., Auxiliary Bishop of Baltimore, in the Cathedral of the Assumption, Baltimore. The following July he was placed on the teaching staff of St. Fidelis' Preparatory Seminary where he taught history and languages and did pastoral work on Sundays at St. Antony's Mission of Harrisville, Pa. After four years of teaching he was assigned to the Capuchin College of St. Francis, Washington, D. C., where in September, 1925, he began graduate work at the Catholic University of America. In June, 1926, upon the presentation of a dissertation he received the Degree of Master of Arts in the School of Philosophy. The following September he matriculated as a candidate for the Doctorate in Philosophy, studying American Church History under the Reverend Dr. Peter Guilday; History of Education under the Reverend Dr. Patrick J. McCormick; Dynamic Psychology under the Reverend Dr. Thomas Verner Moore, O. S. B., and Homiletics under the Right Reverend Dr. Hugh T. Henry. To his professors the writer wishes to express his sincere appreciation and gratitude.

271.38

CATHOLIC THEOLOGICAL UNION
F380.C2V8 C001
THE CAPUCHINS IN FRENCH LOUISIANA (1722-

3 0311 00062 3673

F
380
.C2
29351
Vogel, Calude L.
AUTHOR
V8
THE CAPUCHINS IN FRENCH
TITLE
LOUISIANA

WHEN taking out this book, please write name and date on card and place card in CARD-DROP.

PLEASE see that this book is returned ON TIME: others may be waiting for it.

KINDLY refrain from defacing this book in any way, and also from leaving MARKERS of any kind between the pages.